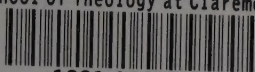


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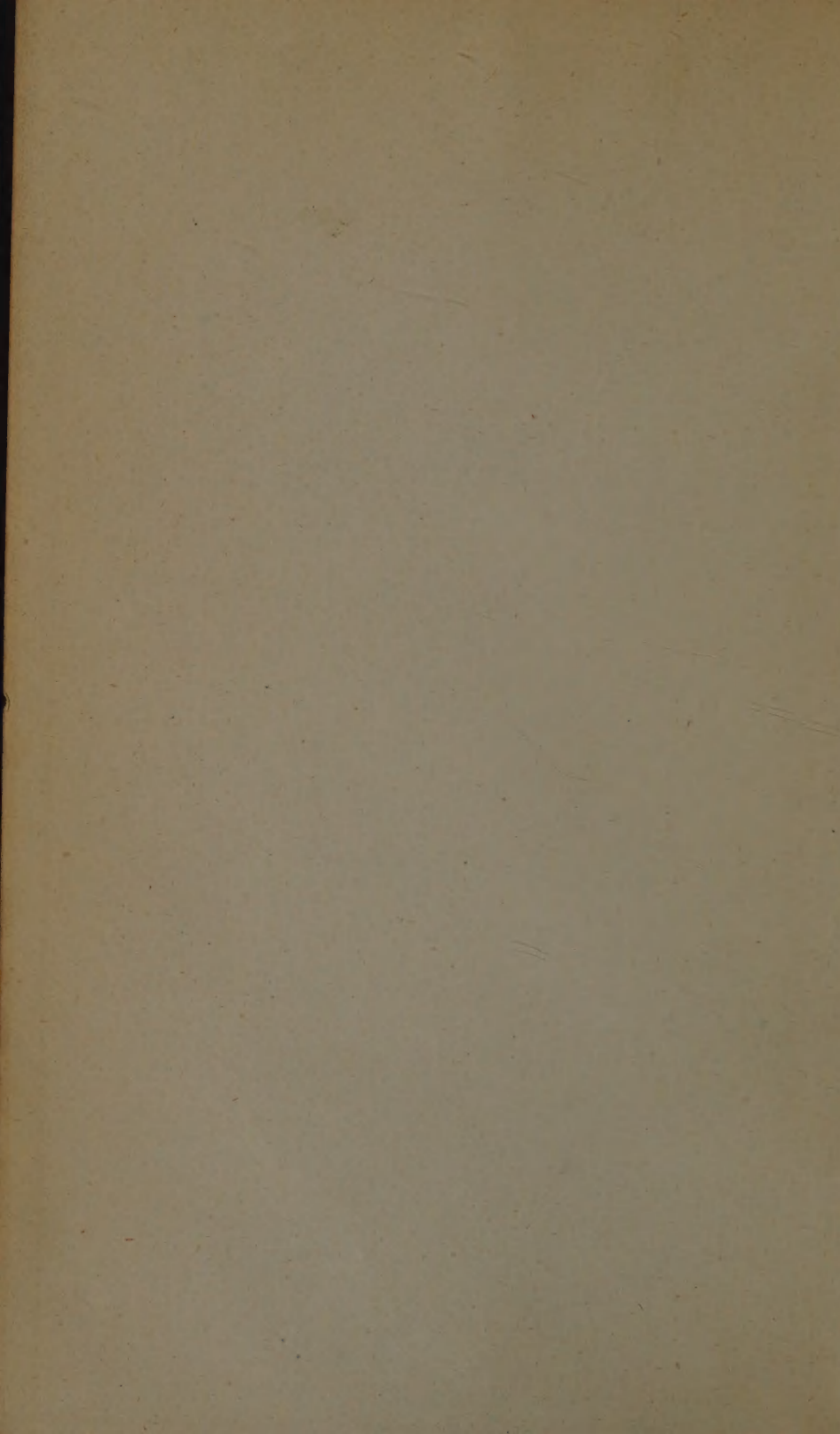
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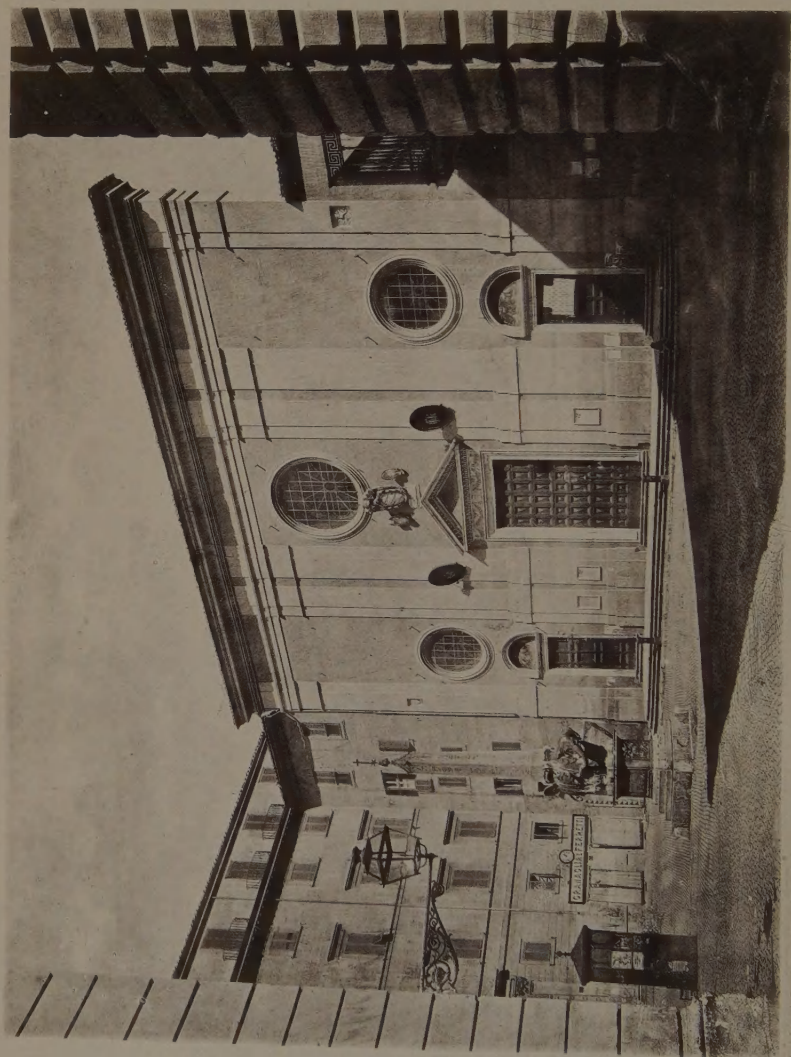
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HISTORY

OF

The Inquisition

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY
TO ITS EXTINCTION IN THE NINETEENTH.

BY

WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D.

*The Son of Man came not to destroy
men's lives but to save them.*

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HAMILTON, ADAMS & CO., 32, PATERNOSTER ROW;
WESLEYAN CONFERENCE OFFICE.

NEW YORK:

SCRIBNER, WELFORD & CO., BROADWAY.

MDCCCLXXIV.

LONDON:
WERTHEIMER, LEA AND CO., PRINTERS,
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY.

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HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE NETHERLANDS

UNDER CHARLES V., EMPEROR.

WHEN Martin Luther stood before the Diet at Worms, to answer for himself with a safe conduct in his hand, and refused to abjure his faith, some members of that assembly proposed that since he would not be reconciled to the Church of Rome, he should be straightway arrested and punished for heresy. They considered him incapable of pledging faith, because, as a heretic, he could have no faith to pledge, and by consequence could not enter into any contract with another party, nor claim the fulfilment of any pledge to himself.

But Charles V., presiding at the Diet, rejected the proposal to break faith with Luther, whom he knew to be a dissentient from Rome when he gave him the safe-conduct. Sigismund, it is true, had broken faith with Huss at the Council of Constance, where he gave up the Bohemian Reformer to be burnt, but Sigismund was ashamed of his perfidy, and they say that he blushed openly. Charles would not blush like Sigismund. This he said in January, 1521, and not only left Luther free, but actually connived at his escape, and saw him provided with shelter after leaving the Diet. Luther made good use of the involuntary leisure

afforded him at that juncture, of which the German Bible is the fruit and evidence, and a sentence of Charles himself, at that very time meditating the destruction of Luther's work, reveals to us what his thoughts were when he seemed to be making an honourable stand against solicitation to a breach of faith.

About thirty years later, when he had abdicated the Imperial throne, he thus wrote:—

"I committed a fault in not having Luther killed. I thought, but it was a mistake, that I should find a remedy for heresy *by other means*."* What those other means were, can now be clearly understood.

No later than the 8th of May following, he proceeded to take very decisive measures for destroying the Lutheran Reformation in a part of the Empire where it was making most hopeful progress; and those "other means," by which he expected to accomplish his purpose, are clearly detailed in a placard, or proclamation, addressed to the provinces of "Lower Germany," now more familiarly called the Netherlands.

That edict strictly forbade the Netherlanders to publish any book containing mention of the Holy Scriptures, or explanation of any passage of the Bible, written without permission expressly given by some competent authority. Severe penalties were threatened on whomsoever should venture to infringe this prohibition, or give assent to any portion of the errors of Martin Luther.

At that time, be it remembered, there were not yet any Inquisitors appointed to the Netherlands, neither had any special mandates been published respecting religion. When there were any heretics to be punished, recourse was had to the Inquisitors at Paris for that service in the French or Walloon Provinces, or to those of Cologne for the Flemings. But now, in 1522,

* *Histoire de la Revolution des Pays-Bas sous Philippe II.*, par THEODORE JUSTE.

Charles V. created an Inquisition of his own, and appointed one Councillor Francis Van der Hulst, of Brabant, to be Inquisitor-General in the United Provinces.

Until then the Pope only, or an ecclesiastical authority acting in the Pope's behalf, had appointed Inquisitors, but now the Emperor by himself, as if no Pope existed, displayed perfect independence, so introducing a new kind of Inquisition, which we must therefore describe as we find it, perfectly abnormal, and in no respect better than the other. For the first time in history if we mistake not, one layman was made quæstor of the Faith by another layman, from whom he received a merely temporal power to search after all heretics in his whole neighbourhood, and punish them at his own single pleasure. He had full commission to cite them to appear before himself, and then to cast them into prison; take inventories of their goods; proceed against them by actual Inquisition without observing the ordinary forms of justice; put to the question, imprison for a time, or banish perpetually from all or any of those provinces; pass sentence of death, and have it carried into execution without listening to any appeal. The Emperor also empowered this Van der Hulst to appoint Sub-Inquisitors wherever he thought them necessary to carry out his wishes.

Pope Adrian VI., himself a Dutchman, connived at the irregularity, well knowing how easily the new tribunals might be brought under direct papal administration at the first convenient season, and no doubt he counted on the value of his own influence over this new Inquisitor whom he had known, in former years, as Tutor of young Don Carlos of Spain, the present Emperor. Most readily the Pope creates the man Inquisitor-Universal, and declares him Inquisitor-General in the Duchy of Brabant, Counties of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hainault, Artois, and all places of Low Germany under the Emperor's domi-

nion. Adrian also saved his own authority by formally setting aside the canons in favour of this "learned, prudent, experienced and zealous" layman. If ever it became necessary to judge and condemn clergymen, he was directed to call in the aid of a Bishop to superintend the ceremony of degradation. And the Pope declared that this appointment of the Dutch Councillor did not derogate from the right of every Bishop to be Inquisitor in his own diocese.

But Van der Hulst made such terrible use of his office that he had to flee for life, and the archduchess Margaret, after he had left Holland, was compelled to pacify the people by suspending the effects of his commission.

The Emperor, disappointed at the ill-success of his experiment for uprooting heresy, directed his councillors at Brussels to debate whether it would be the better plan to have a regular Inquisitor set over all the Netherlands, or whether the bishops might not do all the work for themselves. The majority thought the bishops were too rough and too much given to usurp the jurisdiction of the sovereign, and make pecuniary compositions for their own profit instead of imposing punishments.

The Archduchess, therefore, wrote to Pope Clement VII. to appoint Inquisitors, and nominated three, but the sagacious pontiff quietly took the matter into his own hands and made Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, Inquisitor-General with extraordinary powers. But the worthy Dutch councillors were not to be so summarily set aside, and the archduchess, as advised by them, decided that the cardinal should be refused. The Pope made no trouble of it, but accepted her three nominees and made them all Inquisitors. They had, indeed, been acting, after the flight of their chief, the Councillor Van der Hulst, but without any instructions how to act, and, therefore, the Emperor took upon himself to draw up the following instructions, dated at Maestricht on the

23rd of February, 1546, and we observe that they are quite unlike the recognised laws and customs of the Holy Office.

1. Each Inquisitor, or his sub-delegate, was to visit the province assigned to him, attended by a notary of known integrity and aptitude, and search for heretics and persons vehemently or probably suspected.

2. He should find out all who read or possessed condemned books, or who held conventicles or carried on disputes concerning the Catholic religion. All information was to be put into correct form by a notary, and kept with care for use. Witnesses were to tell the truth without fear or favour, to give the names of their authors, and write them in the report, that good men might not be unjustly scandalised.

3. An accusation, whose author refused to be named, should not be made the basis of any procedure.

4. If an Inquisitor or sub-delegate found that any one from personal reasons had accused another, the accuser should be handed over to the chief magistrate of the place to be dealt with accordingly.

5. Inquisitors might call before them any subjects of the Emperor, of whatever rank or dignity, and compel them to give evidence and return answers on pain of being reputed abettors of heretics, and punished as such. If the persons accused were ecclesiastics, the Inquisitors were to proceed against them so as might appear to themselves just and right.

6. Persons legitimately proved heretics, should be kept under guard, to be handed over to the judge of the place.

7. Special cases of priests were to be referred to Mary, Queen of Hungary, sister of the Emperor, Regent of the Low Countries.

8. Ecclesiastics, being duly convicted of heresy, and canonically degraded, the Council should forthwith execute the sentence passed upon them.

9. Laics breaking Imperial orders were to be

punished by civil authorities—not by priests, nor Inquisitors.

10. Persons guilty of offences partly civil and partly heretical, were to be tried by a mixed court of Inquisitors and Councilmen.

11. On pain of Imperial indignation, no Council was in any way to hinder the Inquisitors.

12. Neither were any of the Bishops, or their officers.

13. All Curates not good Catholics, were to be dismissed by the Inquisitors, and better men put into their places.

14. In like manner were all Curates having concubines to be dealt with.

15. Bad Schoolmasters were to be sifted out on the same principle.

16. And so were all religious Booksellers and Printers.

This very singular code, redolent of military absolutism, rough and ready, could not have issued from the obscure cunning of a professional Inquisitor, and it closes with an injunction which betrays the extreme simplicity of the writer. He meekly advises the slayers of the flock to be *moderate, humane, and just!* They should beware *ne nimis errungant*, that they do not wring the poor heretics too dry!

A few years later he presumed again to lecture the greedy Inquisitors, which they much disliked, but he would not withdraw his counsels, and we may suppose that they did not heed them. To humanise Inquisitors was more than even an Emperor could do, and we find more congenial injunctions given and accepted. Such was an order of Queen Mary of Hungary, to extirpate the sect of Anabaptists, but this they were not strong enough to do, however heartily they might strive to do it; and another order required them to visit the nunneries, and correct the disorderly conduct of the nuns.

As for the Emperor, he grew more savage with age. His last placard of the kind, dated September 25th,

1550, was intended to summarise and perpetuate those which had preceded. In it he decreed the penalty of death "*by the sword, the ditch, and fire*" on heretical offenders. Somewhat following the Inquisitorial system of Spain, he excluded from every office of trust or honour persons once suspected of heresy, even after they had done penance, and merited forgiveness. He provoked delation, offering informers half the goods of heretics condemned. He commanded supreme and provincial courts to unite members of their own with the ecclesiastical judges whenever informations of heresy came before them, that they might take part in their proceedings, and in the action that should follow; and yet further, he laid on all his own officers and vassals the obligation to aid the clergy in apprehending and detaining persons pursued for heresy. He interdicted judges from mitigating the penalties prescribed under the pretext that they were excessive, or merely threatened *in terrorem*. He pronounced null and void all sales, gifts, conveyances, or last testaments made by persons who had been but once convicted of an heretical opinion, and threatened to punish, as partners in guilt, all who should presume to intercede for mercy on them.

Besides this general placard he issued one separately against Anabaptists. Their guilt, he said, was in every case equal, and so should be their punishment, with but one slight abatement in favour of any who repented before death. As for such penitents, he graciously permitted the men to be beheaded, and the women buried alive. All who continued pertinacious were to be burnt alive.

These were the latest acts of Charles V.—a man so hardened that he could look back on a sanguinary career of thirty years without compunction. Brandt and others have written harrowing narratives of the sufferings of their martyred countrymen, which are easily accessible to those who desire to peruse them. We must be content with a very few brief notes.

On February 9th, 1522, the Augustinian Friars of Antwerp, being convinced of the errors of their Church by the study of Luther's writings, were driven from their convent. The Prior, however, abjured Lutheranism in the Church of St. Gudule before the Nuncio, the Chancellor of Brabant, the Suffragan Bishop of Cambray, and many others. Three of the monks, Henry Voes, John Van Essche, and Lambert Thoren stood firm to their convictions, and were condemned to be degraded, that the magistrates might be at liberty to put them to death. Thoren escaped, but the two others were burnt alive on the first day of July, 1523, in the great square of Brussels, in presence of all the "religious" in the city, Carmelites, Recollects, and Dominicans. On their way to the fire they cried aloud that they were going to suffer as Christians. When they were bound to the stake, and the faggots lighted, they recited the Creed, and then began to sing the Te Deum in alternate sentences, and continued singing until the flames choked them. Another of those monks was put into a sack and drowned in the Scheldt. To make this execution the more impressive the Government caused the vacated monastery to be levelled to the ground, and a church to be built on the site and dedicated to St. Andrew. In spite of this terror, converts to the reformed religion multiplied, and monks and nuns spontaneously forsook their cells and left the convents empty, especially in Holland and Zealand, and it is to be noted that the secession from the Romish Church was greatest among the more educated classes.

Some time in 1524, a sailor went up aloft in his ship in the port of Antwerp, and preached "heresy" to the people on shore. He was delated, given over to the secular arm, put into a sack, and drowned.

Sept. 15, 1523. John Backer, of Woerden, was burnt alive. He was a priest twenty-seven years of age. His offence was twofold. He had preached the Gospel and he was married. They brought him out

to the burning in a yellow coat and cap, and as they bound him to the stake he cried, "O Death, where is thy sting! O Grave, where is thy victory! Death is swallowed up by the victory of Jesus Christ."

In 1527 a woman at the Hague was strangled—burying alive not being introduced as yet—and burnt.

In 1528 an ex-monk was burnt alive for the double crime of marrying and preaching. They offered him life if he would declare his wife a concubine, but he preferred to die.

In 1532 the magistrates of Limburg burnt a family of six persons, father, mother, two daughters and their husbands. They went in company to martyrdom, singing psalms on the way.

In 1533 three men were burnt in Arras for refusing to honour the holy candle, and treating the custom as a superstition.

In 1536, our countryman, William Tindall, driven over to Flanders by persecution for having translated the New Testament into English, was burnt alive in the fortress of Vilvorde.

About the same time some women in Holland were taken to the fire when in the pains of childbirth, and gave birth to their infants at the stake.

On the 7th January, 1548, in the State prison of Vilvorde, between five and six o'clock in the morning, John Estor, Lord of Bigard, and his mother, were beheaded. They had been condemned for contravening edicts for the extirpation of heretics and reprobate sects. They had prevented a monk from hawking about some objects of superstition for sale among the villagers on their estates.

These public executions, almost always distinguished by the unflinching boldness of the sufferers, failed to intimidate the increasing multitude of converts. The martyrs exulted in their martyrdom. The spectators caught the enthusiasm of their faith, and so powerful was their testimony to the truth that the executioners recommended the Queen Regent to permit such per-

sons to be executed in private that their voices might not be heard. The suggestion was accepted so far as the magistrates thought necessary. The hunt for dogmatising heretics was prosecuted with increasing diligence, and portraits of preachers to secret congregations were exhibited in public places that the adherents of this imperial Inquisition might be assisted in the search.

Now began the public resistance of the provinces which eventually issued in their separation from the Empire, and it was to brave this opposition, and if possible, overawe the remonstrants, that Charles V. put forth the Placard of 1550 above-quoted. But that document provoked demonstrations of revolt which the tyrant could no longer face, and with an affectation of piety by no means unusual, he professed himself dissatisfied with the world, retired to the convent of Yuste, resigned his crown, and put on a friar's frock. How many slaughtered victims he will meet at the last account none can tell. There have been various calculations. The lowest number is fifty thousand, and the highest a hundred thousand, but such estimates are sufficient evidence that the destruction of human life by fire and sword was vast.

His own view of the matter is worth knowing, as it is conveyed in a paper written by himself after the retreat to Yuste.*

"I wished to establish the Inquisition," he means the Spanish, "in order to prevent and punish these heresies which from the neighbourhood of Germany, England, and France were propagated. People were all opposed to me, saying that *there were no Jews among us*. After some discussions we came to the conclusion that an ordonnance should be promulgated wherein it would be declared that all persons of whatever state or condition they might be who had fallen into either of the cases there specified, should be *ipso*

* *Sur le séjour de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste*, par GA-CHARD, dans les *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Bruxelles*, t. xii.

facto condemned to suffer death by fire, and their property would be confiscated.

“For the execution of this edict certain *commissaries* were charged to make inquest of the culprits, and denounce them to the justices under whose jurisdiction they were found. These justices, after having verified the delict, had to cause such as were obstinate to be burnt alive, and cut off the heads of those who reconciled themselves to the church. Things went on so, although people were very ill content, nor were they discontented without reason, seeing the extreme severity of this ordonnance. But I was compelled by necessity to take this measure.”

The *forms* of Inquisition as organised at Rome were not observed, but Inquisitors were appointed by the Popes Adrian VI., Clement VII., Paul III., and Julius III. The Spanish Inquisition was eventually introduced into the Netherlands for a short time, and also first extended by Charles V. into Spanish America. I have therefore gone beyond my original intention, and given the events recounted in this chapter a place in the present history.

On the abdication of Charles V., the crown of Spain fell by his gift to his son Philip II., and the Netherland Provinces were also committed to his government. By the advice of Cardinal Granville he made no sudden change in those regulations which his father had made on his own absolute authority, but it was very soon evident that whereas the Emperor made the Inquisition secondary to the Army, the King delighted in the Holy Office with its dark and crafty brutality. He was neither brave enough nor active enough to lead armies, but could urge and even guide the stealthy movements of Inquisitors. Piles of correspondence with them may still be found. His own broad, slovenly, and almost illegible hand-writing fills and overflows the wide margins of memorials and reports. He satisfies appeals for royal bounty and protection, and acknowledges their services in quality of untitled ambassadors or spies.

Under his patronage, Spanish Inquisitors were sent into those Provinces, notwithstanding promises to the contrary extorted by the clamours of the inhabitants. The sanguinary placards were all revived, and only so far altered as to make way for the more scientific persecution of Spaniards, whose language he could speak, and whose country he made in every sense his own. The worst part of the Spanish people almost worshipped him, and with the commencement of his reign began the overwhelming power of the Holy Office. From September, 1555, when he joined his father in Brussels, began a closely-organised revolt against the Inquisition, and on the 20th July, 1561, after Inquisitorial atrocities that were never exceeded in any other land, and again after the murderous vengeance of the Duke of Alva, a dismal chapter of horrors closed with signing the Deed of Independence of the United Provinces, a work which would not, probably, have been accomplished if the Council of the Holy Office had not provoked universal hatred and indignation.

The same effect was, sooner or later, produced wherever the horrible tribunals had been erected, and so, contrary to all that was ever meant, or hoped, or feared, the gigantic abomination wrought out its own remedy.

We shall hear again of Philip II. as crowned Inquisitor-in-chief, especially in Sicily.



L. VOSTERMAN.

CHARLES V. EMPEROR.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH AMERICA.

INQUISITION FOUNDED BY CHARLES V.

THE Court of Rome has not usually made gift or grant, except for some adequate consideration. Accordingly, when Pope Alexander VI. made a pecuniary concession to Ferdinand and Isabella (A.D. 1501), he did so on the consideration that it was their desire "to acquire and recover the islands and countries of the Indies,"—America being included in the Indies,—“in order that in them *every condemned sect being cut down*, the Most High might be worshipped and revered. At Rome, however, the Pope was indisputably the Most High—*Altissimus*—and the Bull itself acknowledges that it was not only the desire of his Holiness to extirpate heathenism in America, even by the extirpation of the heathen themselves, but to destroy all condemned sects that disputed his supremacy.

We know that long before Luther there were condemned sects; and the document now quoted betrays an apprehension that in the wildernesses of the New World, no less than in the Alpine valleys, sects might flourish and spread which could not be utterly suppressed, even by the aid of troopers and Inquisitors. In America, therefore, it would seem to be agreed that, while the army was destroying the natives, the Church was to annihilate the sects.

The Emperor-King presided over this work in his Transatlantic dominions. Encouraged by his powerful patronage, a few bishops met together in what they called a General Council, to consult for the more perfect organisation of their Church. Mexico, Guatemala and Oaxaca were thus represented in November,

1537, and a report of their deliberations was transmitted to his Majesty. From a lesser assembly, or Junta, held in "the City of Thenuxtítlan in Mexico of New Spain," the first Bishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, with a few of his brethren, sent him a very full communication, dated April 17th, 1539, from which we learn that they had met under Royal Authority and command, and in obedience to that command sent home abundant information, and as directed, asked both for *help* and *advice* as to what it might in future be necessary to solicit of the Pope, not however through any ecclesiastical channel, but by Charles himself, who should judge for them, and make the request his own. The letter is important, as it reveals the policy to be pursued in the New World for the strict governing of the laity, with suppression of whatever the clergy did not approve. Zumárraga writes as follows:—

"Because the natives continue to use Gentile rites, especially in their superstitions, and idolatries or sacrifices, although not in public as they used to do, but go by night to their oratories, *cues*, and temples, which are not yet all destroyed, and in the inmost recesses of which they have their idols, and pay them as much reverence as ever, and it is believed that few of their older people have left their sects, but with equal affection keep concealed many of those idols, although we have often advised, and even threatened them. In those *cues* and oratories which we have pulled down to the ground during the last three months we have found their idols, and so long as they are not utterly demolished,—and they are still allowed to keep possession of the lands which once belonged to those oratories and temples whence the *papas* derived their maintenance,—they will persist in their idolatry, and while the false worship is not destroyed there, the true worship, divine adoration and Christianity cannot be established. We therefore beg your Majesty to be pleased to order that those lands, and

the property of their temples and oratories which their *papas* and ministers possessed, be applied to our use, and that alms [meaning forced contributions] be raised for the churches of these countries. We beg that we may have authority to use the stones of their temples for building churches, and that we may have power to overturn and burn and destroy the idols that are in them, for by the First Commandment we are all bound to destroy idolatry, and the *Latria*, or Christian religion, cannot be planted there until they are rooted up and separated from their rites."

For the present, the Bishops had determined (as appears by the tenth chapter of the document before us), that native Indian proselytes when behaving amiss, especially the *men*, should be put into stocks, or confined in prisons (which was accounted gentle treatment and slight correction), to teach them good behaviour. But further on, in the twenty-fourth chapter, they advise that "as stripes, imprisonment, and other such punishments (having been already tried), are not found to do the natives any good, *they who behave badly shall be made to do penance.*"* What penance means in the language of Inquisitors, now needs not to be explained.

The several races of New Christians were the principal objects of pursuit across the Atlantic Ocean. That none of them might find refuge in America, the Spanish Inquisitor-General, the magnificent Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, had nominated (May 7th, 1516) Fray Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Cuba, to be his delegate in the kingdom of Terra Firma, as the Spanish-American continental territories were then called, and empowered him to appoint the necessary ministers. Charles V. had already prepared the way for an institution of his own, by desiring the Cardinal Adrian to nominate Inquisitors, *to be independent of the Spanish Inquisition*; and, on the Cardinal's nomination, appointed Alonso Manso, Bishop of Puerto Rico, and Pedro de

* *Documentos Historicos de Mexico.* Brit. Mus. 4183, h.

Cordova, Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, to be "Inquisitors of the Indies and Islands of the Ocean." The Imperial Order to that effect was signed on the 20th of May, 1520, while as yet the Episcopate of the New World was incomplete.

The New Christians of America were not only fugitive Jews from Europe, but Gentile natives of those vast regions who had been compelled to submit to baptism, so far as the Spanish conquests brought them under the power of the invaders; and as they were no less heathens than before, they observed certain forbidden rites of the old idolatry—relics of their state in olden time when under their own kings—and they practised those rites with an enthusiastic attachment, so far as secrecy or hope of impunity encouraged them so to do. On the other hand, the newly-created Inquisition, although not yet set up over regularly-defined districts, and administered only by Dominicans itinerant from place to place, pushed its power to the utmost; and, after beginning its peculiar work of death, so alarmed the baptised Indians that they retreated by multitudes into the interior, renounced the profession of Christianity, and joined themselves to the yet unconquered tribes.

The Spanish Viceroy, alarmed at the general desertion, and fearing that the recently-acquired territories would be depopulated, and that those combinations of Indians would grow too powerful to be resisted, entreated Charles to put a stop to the proceedings of the Inquisitors. His Majesty, partaking of their apprehension, commanded (October 15th, 1538) the Inquisitors not to interfere, on any account, with aboriginal natives of America, but restrict their interference to Europeans and their descendants. Yet the Indians were not exempted from inquisition of heresy, but placed under the control of the Bishops, a set of men practically inferior to Inquisitors, but seldom so murderous as they, and now instructed to proceed with gentleness and caution. But the Inquisitors

could not so easily be displaced; and being still permitted to follow their vocation in regard to Europeans by birth or descent, they soon transgressed that limit, and evaded the Royal Order by means of the Secret, until the original evil, after some slight mitigation for a few years, became almost as flagrant as ever, and the inhibition had to be renewed (October 18th, 1549). The vigilance of the temporal authorities, and the torrent of popular hatred which the barbarous insolence of the Holy Office had drawn forth, made the position of an Inquisitor scarcely less perilous than odious, and few persons were found willing to undertake the charge.

The humbled Inquisitors then cried out for succour; and Philip II., after having set aside the more politic restrictions of his predecessors, and feasted his eyes on the martyrdoms of Spain, as he had gloated over those of England, issued a Royal Order (January 25th, 1569), complaining that the heretics, by books and conversations, introduced their new doctrine into America; said that the Council of the Supreme, with the Inquisitor-General at their head, had resolved to name Inquisitors and ministers, not to perambulate the country, as formerly, but to be intrenched amidst palaces and prisons, and be obeyed, as in Spain, by magistrates and soldiers; and he commanded accordingly. Consequently chiefs of inquisitorial districts were installed, first in Panamá (June 20th, 1569), and next in Lima (January 29th, 1570). The Inquisitors made solemn entries into those places; and the authorities, again reduced to abject submission, received them with every demonstration of honour that could be devised. Mexico followed next in submission to Spain (August 18th, 1570); and the process of organisation reached yet another stage, when it was ordained that at three central tribunals, in Lima, Mexico, and Cartagena de Indias, Inquisitors-General should preside, and guide the operations of subordinate establishments (December 26th, 1571), subject,

however, to the Supreme Council in Madrid. There is reason to believe that persecutions were by this time renewed on a very large scale.

It is known that in 1574, the very year that the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortés, died, the first *Auto* was celebrated in the city of Mexico with great pomp; and, unless by the absence of royalty, was not inferior in grandeur to that of Valladolid, where Philip, as the reader may remember, so rigidly and ostentatiously fulfilled his vow to take vengeance on the heretics. At this first Mexican *Auto*, it is related that a Frenchman, who had probably escaped the Bartholomew massacres, and an Englishman, were burnt as impenitent Lutherans. Eighty penitents were exhibited at the same time, some punished for Judaizing, and some for holding the opinions of Luther or Calvin. A few did penance for bigamy, the sorry Christianity of Spain not having sufficed to overcome the customs of Paganism,—customs which only the Gospel, with the spread of true experimental piety, eradicates. And a few others did sore penance for magic and superstition.

As if the religion of the Reformation were a plague, and as if the plague might be kept within bounds by cutting off communication, “infected persons” were forbidden to cross the seas. The laws relating to America abound in provisions of the kind; but a Royal Ordinance of the beginning of the seventeenth century may be taken as a pattern of them all. “We ordain and command,” says Philip III., “that no one newly converted to our Holy Faith, from being Moor or Jew, nor his child, shall pass over into our Indies, without our express licence. And we also prohibit and command that no one who has been reconciled” (by the usual penance), “nor the child or grandchild of any one who has publicly worn a Sambenito, nor the child or grandchild of a person burnt or condemned as a heretic, for the crime of heretical pravity, through either male or female descent, shall pass over to the

Indies, under penalty of loss of goods for our chamber and fisc; and his person shall be placed at our mercy, to be perpetually banished from our Indies; and, if he have no property, let them give him a hundred lashes, publicly." *

Lashes were doubtless given, and property confiscated, but ways of egress might be opened by royal licence. Spanish merchants of impure blood might pay their fees of office, and pass without notice beyond the ocean; or, through petty bribery to underlings, persons of inferior class could at any time emigrate; and thus a rapidly-increasing multitude of New Christians was mingled with the Spanish-American population. These people brought constant work for the Inquisitors, who not only demanded aid of the secular arm, but were ever encroaching on the jurisdiction of the magistrates, which rendered it necessary for the Court of Madrid to interpose by advising the gentler method of agreement between the rival powers beyond sea, or by enforcing the mandates of the Sovereign.

The rivalry of two powers served one great end. It diminished the power of the Inquisition; for vice-roys, in their jealousy of ecclesiastical pretensions, were not sorry to see public indignation sometimes burst on those "holy officers," who were obliged to content themselves with *particular Autos*, where they alone officiated, where the civil authorities would take no part, and where offenders could not be killed.

There is a small book, printed in Mexico in 1648, intituled, "Relation of the Third Particular *Auto-de-Fè* that the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the Kingdoms and Provinces of New Spain celebrated in the Church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, on the thirtieth of March, 1648; the very Illustrious Lords Doctor Don Francisco de Estrada y Escovedo, Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, and Licentiate Don

* *Ordenanzas Reales para la Contratacion de Sevilla, &c.* Valladolid, 1604.

Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla, being Inquisitors therein." * This rare document consists of the Summaries that were published by the Reader on that occasion: and has a preface, equally authentic of course, from the pen of one of the said lords, or of a secretary. This is written in intricate out-of-date Castilian, of which a close translation shall speak in precisely correspondent English.

"As indefatigable for vigilance of the care, and awake to the duties of the labour, the upright, just, and holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of New Spain, always desiring to manifest to the Christian people, amidst the accustomed piety that is an attribute of their profession, and to make known to the world, in view of the clemency that is the boast of their glories, the necessary punishment and inevitable chastisement that is done on the heretical perfidy and rebellious obstinacy of the cruel and sanguinary enemies of our sacred religion; who, blind to its light, deny it, and deaf to its voice, flee from it. The Lords Inquisitors who act therein, anxious to gain in rich perfection the foreseen toil of their wakefulness, and the fruit of their unwearied labour, have celebrated two Particular Acts of Faith in the past years, 1646 and 1647, in which, with all attention and good order, were despatched, and went forth to public theatre, seventy-one causes: the greater part of them Jews, observant of the dead and *detestable* law of Moses. And now, for particular and convenient ends, not open to the investigation of curiosity, and not without well-advised resolution, this Holy Tribunal determined to celebrate another Particular Act of Faith in the Church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, one of the most capacious and convenient for the purpose, that there are in this city, on March 30th, 1648. In which were put to penance and punished (manifesting its severity no less than its clemency and

* It may be found in the British Museum, by referring to the "Old Catalogue," under the head INQUISITION.

pity) twenty-eight persons, as well men as women, for the atrocious delinquencies and grave crimes by them perpetrated, that in this brief and summary relation shall be told. The guilty penitents going out of the prisons of the Inquisition, each one between two ministers of the Holy Tribunal, at six o'clock in the morning, without any obstruction of the way, or disturbance of good order, from the numerous multitudes of people that were packed close on both sides of the broad streets, but who gave good way to the criminals until they reached the said church: where after the orderly procession of penitents was brought in, and the Lords Inquisitors were seated in their tribunal, it being then seven o'clock in the morning, the noise of the people that attended being hushed, in good and prescribed order began the reading of the causes, and continued until six o'clock in the evening; and the guilty having abjured, and they with whom that business had to be done being absolved and reconciled, they took them back in the same form and order to the house of the Inquisition, whence they had come by different streets, with the same accompaniment. *And the day following the justice of lashes was executed; all this kingdom remaining in hope of another more numerous and General Act, for exaltation and glory of our Holy Catholic faith, punishment and warning of her enemies, edification and instruction of the faithful."*

Notwithstanding the incapacity of the scribe, the summaries present lively pictures of the moral state of society in Mexico at that time; and some of them have peculiar value, as disclosing the manner in which Jews persisted, from generation to generation, in observing that "dead and detestable law of Moses," as the Spanish doctors were pleased to call it. Others exhibit specimens of clerical depravity and vulgar superstition.

Gaspar de los Reyes was one of the vagrants who

found their way to New Spain. He was a layman, cleverly acting the part of priest, who said mass, absolved, imposed penance, baptized, married, gave extreme unction, buried, and swindled very extensively. As to the burying and the swindling, there could be no doubt that they were facts accomplished; but seeing that sacramental acts depend for validity on intention, there must have been great perplexity in the case of Gaspar de los Reyes. Did he intend to do as the Church intends? No one could trust in the rectitude of his intentions: therefore transubstantiation, absolution, regeneration, legitimacy of children, and final salvation of penitents, were sunk into the category of uncertainties under his hands. It was a bad case,—very bad. The man must have been a heretic. He was contumacious, and should have been burnt. But in absence of a secular arm to inflict that penalty, he was made to carry a green taper in his hand, a rope round his neck, and a white *coroza* on his head. Then he was abjured *de vehementi*,—only suspected, although vehemently; not convicted, for the Inquisitors had no power to kill him, and it would have been a scandal for the Church to have a convicted heretic seen among living men,—received three hundred lashes, or was to receive them, and was to be shipped off to the galleys of Old Spain, in captivity “perpetual and irremissible.” Another lighter case of the same kind was to be punished with two hundred lashes, and five years in the galleys.

Fray Josef de Santa Cruz, forty-three years of age, monk, priest, and confessor, had come to Mexico from Seville without licence, thrown off his habit, changed his name, married twice, become the father of several children, and was in practice as a physician. After the lapse of several eventful years he was discovered, arrested, imprisoned, brought out in this *Auto*, and sentenced to carry a green candle. He abjured *de vehementi*; was made to save the funds of a hospital in Mexico by serving the sick poor there for four

years, without pay; and then, from being a prisoner at large, was to be given up to his prelates, to be dealt with according to the canons and rules. This sentence obviously tended to reserve him for the fire when a general *Auto*, so earnestly desired by the Inquisition, might be granted for the exaltation and glory of the faith.

Alexo de Castro, eighty-two years of age, native of Manilla in the Philippines, a concealed Mohammedan, as they said, was accused of Moorish practices in private. As they could not burn him, he was imprisoned in a monastery, there to serve, and there to perish.

Sebastian Domingo, sixty years of age, a Negro slave. This was a most pitable case. Poor Sebastian had married when young; his wife and he had been separately sold, and his second owner compelled him to marry another woman, supposing that by that means he might be attached to the estate, and prevented from running away to seek his lawful wife. For this compulsory second marriage he was delated, and imprisoned in the Inquisition of La Puebla de los Angeles. There, in consequence of a large increase in the number of prisoners, he was taken from the dungeon, sworn to fidelity and secrecy, and compelled to be servant in the Holy House. It would appear from his defence, that he did not understand the extent of his obligation as to secrecy, but, yielding to an impulse of humanity that did him great honour, spoke to a prisoner through the grating of his prison-door, carried a message to his wife, who was soon imprisoned for receiving it, and brought him letters, with pen, ink, and paper. The grateful woman gave him money for the service, and the receiving it was added to the list of his transgressions. They sentenced him to a green candle, rope, abjuration *de levi*, two hundred lashes, six years' labour in the Spanish galleys; or, if he could not go to Spain, and the Tribunal knew, "in secret," a reason why he could not, he was

to be sold for a hundred dollars, to be applied to the ordinary expenses of the Holy Office. The sale, however, was of his services, only, for a time which would, of course, be long enough to make sure of him for life, and at the expiration of that time he was to be restored to his owner. Suppose him to outlive the infliction of two hundred lashes, or suppose that, not to lower his value, the lashes were forgiven, and that some one would buy him for ten years, and get the utmost possible amount of service from him during that time, how much would the slave be worth, if alive, at the age of seventy? But this fraud upon his owner was committed, for the consideration of a hundred dollars, by "the upright, just, and holy" Inquisition.

Ana Xuares, twenty-five years of age, a native of Mexico. Both her parents had been punished as Judaizers. Her marriage with a first husband had been annulled, on some account, a year before; he was still alive, in the galleys for five years, wearing a sambenito, and further sentenced to perpetual confinement to one place of abode. She married a second time, and, contrary to their doctrine that a condemned heretic is dead, they condemned her for that; and she and her new husband were soon separated and imprisoned. After a few days' incarceration, she asked for mercy, was admitted to audience, and confessed that, from the age of fourteen, she had observed the fasts and customs of the Law of Moses. Her maternal grandmother is said to have attended at secret meetings in the house of one Simon Vaez, at Seville, to converse concerning the precepts, fasts, rites, and ceremonies, of Judaism. At those meetings all present were accustomed to take part, each bringing evidence of his own perseverance, and all encouraging each other to stand fast in the same observance.

They formed, says the summary, a sort of *conciliabulum*, or pretended council, where "Catholics" were declared to be under eternal condemnation, and their devotions, processions, and other usages were

spoken of with insolent profanity, showing the "lively hatred that those perfidious and obstinate Jews cherished in their bad hearts." That aged Jewess and "famous dogmatiser" used to take the lead; talk with pride of her children and grandchildren that were good Jews, instructed from childhood by herself; who had made proficiency, fasted admirably, and already attained to high reputation as good Jews and Jewesses throughout the Hebrew nation. Ana Xuares had been one of her most zealous pupils, and displayed intense enthusiasm in attachment to her religion. She loved her second husband, say they, much better than the first, and married him far more willingly, not because he was a better Jew, but because his father had been burnt in one of the Inquisitions of Portugal. When in prison, she carried on written correspondence with fellow-prisoners under a false name, and eluding the vigilance of the Alcaydes, sent messages, received and forwarded messages to other prisoners, made jests about the sambenitos they would have to wear, and agreed with them to make up those garbs of infamy so gay that they would be ornamental, and be rather a credit to the wearers than a disgrace. The Lords Inquisitors in the mother-country would have been horrified to know of this low state of discipline in the Holy House of Mexico. In Seville, or Coimbra, or Goa, prisoners would never have been set to do the work of servants; neither would men be taken from the cells to serve in the kitchen, nor women employed to do needlework. The punishment of this Jewess consisted in appearing in the procession of the *Auto*, in the garb of a penitent, carrying a green candle, confiscation of her goods, formal abjuration, perpetual confinement to one place, the sambenito, perpetual banishment from all the West Indies, transportation to Old Spain in the first fleet that might sail from the Port of St. Juan de Ulloa, perpetual banishment from Seville, the home of her family, and from the Court of Madrid, and obligation to present herself at the Inqui-

sition immediately on landing in Spain, that her person might be known, and that she might receive orders for the fulfilment of all particulars of the allotted penance and confinement. If she failed as to any of those particulars, she would be punished, as an impenitent, with death.

With all the incompetence of those Mexican Inquisitors, they had a certain low ingenuity; they contrived to recover lost ground, and they gained the desire of their heart in the revival of general *Autos*. One such they had in 1659, when *William Lambert*, an Irishman, was burnt in Mexico, being suspected of the heresies of Luther, Calvin, Pelagius, Wycliffe, and Huss. Luther and Pelagius come rather awkwardly together; but this lavish enumeration of heresies was a mere decoration of the record. His real offence was writing "against the Holy Office, its erection, style, mode of proceeding, and the secrecy it observed; also against the Inquisitors' secretaries and servants." One *Pedro García de Arias* was burnt at the same time, his chief offence being freedom of speech in regard to the same persons.*

Englishmen and other foreigners, being Protestants, were put to death with very little ceremony, and especially when captured in the buccaneering expeditions that were carried on in those days on the coasts of America. One *Louis Ramé*, a Frenchman, saw fourteen officers taken into custody by the Inquisitors at Vera Cruz, and solicited to deny their faith. They were carried to the stake on June 20th, 1683, and five who refused to abjure were strangled and burnt. Nine endeavoured to purchase life by renouncing their religion; were baptized, flattered, and feasted publicly the next day; but on the evening of that very day the perfidy of the Inquisitors retributed the cowardice of the renegades. Eight died on a gallows. One, *John Morgan*, escaped by the breaking of a rope; and this they hailed

* Puigblanc, chap. v.

as a miracle to prove that one "a good Catholic." No doubt there were many renegades, and the same Frenchman mentions one *Thomas*, a native of Plymouth, who about six months before had professed Popery to save his life.

Louis Ramé wrote a remarkable account* of his own sufferings. He describes himself as a French sailor, cast on shore at Porto Rico, in April, 1676, and kept prisoner of war more than sixteen months. Conveyed thence to Vera Cruz, and permitted to work in the town for his livelihood, he found employment in the house of a baker, but gave great offence by refusing to assist a priest in trying to pervert a dying Dutchman. On the 17th of December, 1678, he met a procession with the host, and refused to kneel; for which second offence he was instantly thrown into irons, and kept prisoner in a private house. After a fortnight's delay, they carried him to the Inquisition in Mexico. When making the usual minute interrogations, the Inquisitors asked him to abjure; but, on his firm refusal, sent him back to the cell, where they first endeavoured to overcome his constancy by argument and persuasions, and, this failing, drugged his food, so as to induce headache, nausea, and extreme debility and anguish. In this condition, they brought him up again, emaciated and almost delirious, after a year's confinement, and accused him of many crimes that he had never so much as thought of. These accusations all failing, they questioned him on his observance of the practices of his "cursed sect;" and as he not only confessed that he prayed and read the Bible, but amply justified his so doing by quotations from the sacred volume, they sent him back again into confinement, and during three months the Chief Inquisitor paid him a weekly visit for controversy.

* *A Complete History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, etc.* By the Rev. Mr. BAKER, M.A." Westminster, 1736. Relation vi.

But controversy failed. Louis Ramé still abode in the truth; the Inquisitor ceased from visiting, and they gave him "such violent food" that he almost lost his reason. Then, after the second year, he was subject to another audience, but yielded not. A third year then passed, and then a fourth; yet, contrary to the usual practice, they suffered the dogmatizing heretic to live. The reason of this tormenting lenity might perhaps be found in the existing relations between France and Spain; but for whatever reason, his life was spared. Probably, in pain and solitude, he sought strength from God, and the event proved that strength was not denied. "Do you want anything?" the Chief Inquisitor, Juan de Miel, sometimes asked him; and he once answered, "I want the patience of Job, the virtue of Joseph, the wisdom of Solomon, the resolution of Tobit, the repentance of David, justice from your tribunal, and a quick despatch."

Their final sentence consigned him to the royal prison,—the old palace of Montezuma,—until he could be banished from the kingdom of New Spain. Delighted at the thought of such a banishment, he swore to keep the secret of the Holy Office while in the dominions of the King of Spain. But more than four years yet elapsed before his captivity terminated. In Mexico, in Vera Cruz, in the Havana, and in Cadiz, he was treated as a criminal, although not convicted, nor even accused of any crime. At length, his long-sorrowing wife, who had gone to live in Ireland, heard of his imprisonment in Cadiz, came over to London, interested benevolent persons in his case, obtained some advocacy at the Court of Madrid, and on the 18th of May, 1687, she received him in London. With a hearty simplicity that characterizes the whole narrative, he wrote at the close of it, "*God be praised; I was thought dead, but am living.*"

Renewed favour with the temporal authorities, as it gave the American Inquisitors a wider field, and en-

couraged them to greater insolence, brought them into increased disfavour with the clergy of their dioceses, until the venerable Palafox, and the Bishop of Cartagena, in America, appealed so earnestly against them at Rome, that Clement XI. gave a Brief (January 19th, 1706), containing a clause for the removal of the tribunal from that city.

Yet we are not to imagine that this Pope was less favourably disposed towards the Holy Office than any of his predecessors. His published letters give abundant evidence to the contrary; and the following Brief shows that, after suppressing one of the tribunals in America, he employed the Supreme Council of Old Spain to be the instrument of his vigilance in the West. The language is admirably cool, and the document may be interesting to Englishmen and Anglo-Americans.

“Clement XI. to his Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Zaragoza,* Inquisitor-General of Spain.

“Venerable Brother, Health, etc. It has come to the knowledge of our Apostleship that the Holy Bible, translated into an American dialect, has lately been printed in the city of London, according to the depraved doctrine and corrupt sense of Protestants, under whose care and management it is brought to light for the purpose of being circulated in America. Now if the circulation takes effect, as the heretics desire, it is easy to conjecture what damage will be done to the faithful, to whom the food of Holy Scripture, sprinkled and infected with much poison, shall be presented under the name of spiritual nourishment. Therefore our pastoral duty imperatively requires us to oppose this most serious evil by all means possible; but our solicitude and charity advises that we should first of all call in your fraternal zeal to help our vigilance. Therefore, with the utmost earnestness, we desire you to use whatever means are in

* Antonio Ibañez de la Riba-Herrera. LLORENTE, cap. xl., art. 1.

your power, and employ all your authority, to prevent this mischief which now threatens, and will very soon break out openly, that, by this heretical contrivance, the true doctrine of Christ may not be corrupted in the minds of those faithful. Resolve, then, that nothing shall be left undone by you that may be necessary to cut short the circulation of depraved books of this kind in America, where not even importation of them should be allowed, lest they be circulated among the faithful. It becomes the public authority, in this matter, to aid those who are in charge of souls, that what tends to the destruction of those souls may be altogether excluded and made an end of, considering that, by this pretence of propagating the Divine oracles, they design to insinuate the errors yet more deeply. Considering the great importance of this matter we doubt not that your Fraternity will act strenuously and with great diligence, while we most lovingly impart to you our Apostolic blessing."

This is dated August 31st, 1709, from Santa Maria Maggiore, where Clement presided over the Congregation of the Inquisition; and no doubt Riba-Herrera did his best to suppress the version in America. I find it named in the Spanish Index of prohibited Books.

Notwithstanding the nominal suppression, in 1706, of the Inquisition of Cartagena, it soon sprang to life again in Mexico. As in all other parts of Spanish America, it was numbered with the establishments that were thought to impart honour to those countries, until the political convulsions of Europe spread into the transatlantic world, and, after many alternations of defeat and victory, the Inquisition fell in all the States. The latest efforts of the Inquisitors there were directed against the propagators of new political opinions; and so late as the year 1815 a priest was put to death in Mexico for having taken part in a movement for separation of the colony from Old Spain. That was his real offence; but it was preferred to

throw him into the secret prison of the Inquisition, and proceed against him for atheism. One proof of the atheism of this priest, *Josef María Morellos*, was, that he had two children. If having children proves a Romish priest to be an atheist, few of those priests, either in the Old World or the New, can be free from the taint of atheism.

For such atrocities as those of the Papacy, committed through its Inquisition, shall not God be avenged? The denunciations of prophets, and the events of history, declare that the priesthood cannot escape His avenging retribution, and the world has witnessed their humiliation in countries where they had domineered for ages. In South America, during the struggles of Old Spain for constitutional freedom, after the fall of Bonaparte, and when the Spanish colonies were demanding independence, the clergy took part against the people on the side of absolute government; and, not content with using the legitimate influence of their position, diminished as it was by their own misconduct, they expended the wealth of their churches in carrying on a civil war. Ammunition was stored in the houses of priests and bishops; and preachers assailed those members of their congregations who promoted the new order of things. Then popular fury burst upon the clergy. The Archbishop of Mexico, Don Juan de la Serna, was banished; the Bishop of Honduras was put to death; and most, if not all the bishops, were driven from their sees.

One brief paragraph, translated from the Spanish of the Canon P. A. F. de Cordova, an apologist of their own, may serve to intimate what it remains with political historians to narrate in full.

“The Bishop of the capital” (Lima), “Don Benito de Lue y Riega, the Lord Archbishop Moxo of Charcas and Videla, Lord Bishop of Salta, have died in consequence of sufferings in banishment. They” (the Republicans) “obliged Orellana, Bishop of Tucuman, to betake himself to flight through deep forests and

trackless wilds. The present Bishop of Paraguay has quite lost his reason through the treatment he suffered. Señor Otondo, Bishop-Elect of Santa Cruz, lies in prison at Salta; and Rodriguez, Lord Bishop of Santiago, of Chile, is exiled in Mendoza." * The Bishop of Truxillo, who had concealed himself in a solitary place, called Torche, was traced, apprehended, and banished; and the warlike stores found in his palace were transferred to the magazine of artillery in Truxillo. Thus were the weapons of offence, which they and their predecessors had used so actively for seven centuries, turned against themselves, and the world saw a solemn confirmation of the Saviour's words: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Perhaps the fugitive bishops, who so perished in America, bethought themselves, in their last days, of the severer sufferings of the thousands of Waldenses and Reformed in the solitudes of the Alps and the Pyrenees. And if their hearts were softened with suffering, as we must hope they were, they might experience some compunction while contrasting the provocations of their own tyranny with the unoffending innocence of those martyred disciples of the Crucified.

* *Memorias para servir á la Historia de las Persecuciones de la Iglesia en America.* Lima, 1821.

CHAPTER XXV.

PORTUGAL.

EARLY HISTORY.

HAPPILY indeed for Portugal in the fifteenth century, the sway of the "Catholic Sovereigns," Ferdinand and Isabella, did not extend into that kingdom, neither did the Inquisition of Torquemada. But the spirit of persecution cannot be excluded from a country where the Romish priesthood are in power.

In Portugal, as in Spain, the Jews had long been oppressed. Although multitudes who left Spain in 1492 were allowed to dwell in Portugal, it was only under conditions of extreme severity; and at length they were reduced to the same terrible alternative of exile or compulsory profession of Christianity. They who submitted to baptism took upon themselves, not the easy yoke of the Lord Jesus Christ, of whom they had been taught nothing, but an insufferable bondage to the Church of Rome. Under the usual designation of New Christians, they were obnoxious to suspicion, contempt, and the most vexatious vigilance of the priests; although King Emanuel had granted them a promise, in 1497, that they should be exempt from inquisition for twenty years. Whether, at this time, there was any Court of Inquisition in that kingdom, it is not easy to say; but it is unquestionably certain that there, as in every other province of the Popedom, there were formal prosecutions for heresy. The exemption was confirmed and extended in 1507; and, in 1521, King John III. renewed it for another term of twenty years, with a clause to the effect that, even after the expiration of that term, their descendants

should not be tried for heresy without being confronted with their accusers, and that the property of any of those persons who might be put to death on conviction of heresy should, nevertheless, descend to their heirs. These privileges, like all others, must have been *purchased* by the New Christians for themselves and their children. Six years before the time appointed, the exemption was withdrawn, and Pope Clement VII. sent an Inquisitor, Fray Diego de Silva, to set up an Office in Lisbon; and this he did, they say, not of his own motion, but in compliance with pressing representations and entreaties from King John III.,* who complained that those New Christians were receiving the doctrines of Luther, which then began to find acceptance in all parts of the Peninsula.

After some reluctance, real or affected, Clement consented to absolve the King from his obligation to keep the promise made to the Portuguese by his predecessor, and sent the friar, invested with full authority to introduce at once the Holy Office. Don Diego came, but encountered the execrations of the people, and the New Christians expostulated so strongly, that King John was obliged to consent to remit the case to Rome for further consideration. Clement died meanwhile, and his successor, Paul III., as one struggling under a sense of honour, hesitated to confirm the act of his predecessor. But, yielding to the pressing solicitation of the King of Portugal and the prevailing spirit of the Church, he issued a Bull (March 23rd, 1536) that satisfied the importunities of fifteen years, and enabled King John fully to avenge the contempt which, as he said, those Judaisers had shown to ceremonies of the mass and images of the saints. His Holiness named three bishops as commissaries, or sub-Inquisitors, with Silva, to whom he gave the title of

* Never was king more priest-ridden than John III.; and the probability is that he was moved by the new Society of Jesus, whose members had great influence over him, and engaged him to send the first Inquisitors to Goa.

Inquisitor-in-Chief, and commanded them to act in conjunction with the ordinary of the diocese, but for three years to follow the practice of criminal courts, and proceed according to common right. He also forbade the confiscation of property; thus, as he conceived, in some degree adapting the odious institution to the circumstances of the country. In due time a Supreme Council was formed in Lisbon, which sat twice every week.

Thus began the Inquisition of Portugal, as the documents quoted by Antonio de Sousa * demonstrate.

Some writers, following Páramo, relate that one Juan Perez de Saavedra, a clever impostor, having forged a Bull, in the year 1540, to the purport that the Tribunals of Portugal should be assimilated to those of Spain, assumed the dress and title of a cardinal, came with a splendid equipage to Badajoz, a town on the Spanish frontier, acted as Papal Nuncio, received all the honours that should be paid to such a personage, visited the Holy Houses, instructed the Inquisitors, heard appeals, redressed grievances, levied contributions, accepted presents, suffered his attendants to receive fees, did much "good," as he afterwards pleaded, by diminishing the odium of the Inquisition through such acts of lenity as were never known to be performed by any true Inquisitor, took money, indeed, but, unlike real Inquisitors, did not take life. He learned inquisitorial secrets, but divulged none of them. When discovered to be an impostor, he pleaded that, for the skilful management of so beneficial a fraud he deserved praise and reward. He was arrested, notwithstanding, and sent to expiate his offence against inquisitorial and pontifical dignity by nineteen years' labour in the galleys. His fraud, it might have been expected, and the presumption of heresy which attends all offences against the Inquisition, should have brought him to the stake. But it was not so. Confessors of Christ are they who go to the stake. Fraud

* *Aphorismi Inquisitorum.*

is too agreeably familiar to be accounted a mortal sin; and even Philip II. of Spain, severely zealous as he was, sent for "the false Nuncio of Portugal" after his release from punishment, and complacently bade him relate his adventures. He did so, but adorned the narrative with romance enough to provide material for a novel and a play, very popular in Portugal, exhibiting the tricks of Saavedra, "*O falso Nuncio de Portugal.*" And the popularity of the tale might mislead those who did not critically examine dates, and could not detect improbabilities.

Some who have closely studied this episode in the history of Portugal think they find a solution of the improbability which, at the first glance, would make it appear incredible. They suppose the imposture to have been favoured by Charles V. and the Jesuits. Charles, they observe, had married the sister of King John. In his reign the Jesuits arose, became excessively influential in his court, were admitted to his fullest confidence, gave themselves to the promotion of his plans, and acted as spies over his servants. Charles, dreaming of a universal empire, would fain have annexed Portugal to Spain as a first step towards it; for it has ever been the ambition of the Spaniards to make the Peninsula all their own. The Jesuits, therefore, were not unlikely to avail themselves of a project that would tend to aggrandize their order. The most intelligent Portuguese are said to have entertained this opinion; and although it cannot be affirmed that "the false Nuncio" was a creature of Charles and the Jesuits, it is certain that he was so considered. The indulgence, nay, the honour, that was afterwards extended to him by Philip II., strengthens the probability that the common report was true.

The partition of Portugal into inquisitorial districts very soon took place. The Tribunal of Evora was erected by De Silva, in the year 1537; with João de Melho, afterwards Archbishop of Evora, for its first

Inquisitor. In 1539 Cardinal Henry, second Inquisitor-General, established that of Lisbon; to which court he transferred De Melho, with orders to make a beginning there also. And the same Cardinal created a third at Coimbra, in 1541, under the administration of two Commissary Inquisitors; Bernardo da Cruz, a Dominican, and Affonso Gomez, a Canonist.

If we had all the correspondence that passed between the true Nuncio and King John, and the Court of Rome, we might, perhaps, gain a clear insight into the earlier history of the Portuguese Inquisition, and the veil which now hides most of the proceedings of the Inquisition and Government of Lisbon at that time might be withdrawn. But enough is published to show that those proceedings were atrocious.

From a Brief of Paul III. to the King (June 16th, 1545), we learn that Simon de Vega, His Majesty's ambassador, had taken a letter to Rome five months before, advocating the cause of the Inquisition in Portugal, and complaining at great length, and in no very respectful terms, of a former Brief, wherein the Pope had forbidden that neophytes (otherwise called New Christians), then imprisoned, should be subjected to any further trial or punishment, until Giovanni Ricci, Bishop-elect of Siponto, had further informed him concerning some of them. The Pontiff wondered that the King, with an air of bitterness very unbecoming in a Christian, had demanded permission to inflict vengeance on the Jews, and full severity on heretics. Then he proceeded to tell him that he had received many and sore complaints of the conduct of the Inquisitors, who were accused of having burnt many persons unjustly, and of having kept very many more in custody in order to burn them also unjustly. He had therefore commanded judgment to be suspended, and a report of the doings of those ministers of the Holy Office to be transmitted to himself, that he might see whether they had been just or unjust.

The truth is that pontifical authority was resisted by

the Inquisition. For when Pope Paul III. confirmed the appointment of Fr. Diogo de Silva, he did so under a compromise with the agent of the New Christians in Rome, who obtained, by purchase as usual, an order for the release of his brethren then in the prisons of the new Inquisition in Lisbon. But those Inquisitors, headed by the King, refused to open the prisons; while the Nuncio, resolved to maintain the dignity of the Pope, caused the proclamation of pardon to be affixed to the church-doors, and himself went to the prisons, saw them opened, and released one thousand and eight hundred persons from durance, and many of them, no doubt, from death. On the other hand, the King persisted in hostility to the Pope, and placed his forces at the service of the Inquisitors, who furiously renewed the persecution. At the same time, Duarte da Paz, a Knight of St. John, agent of the persecuted people, was actively engaged at Rome in moving the court to enforce the favourable orders his clients had purchased. At length, Papal authority overcame the fury of John III. Paul commanded the Cardinal Henry of Portugal, head of the Inquisition, both as chief Inquisitor, and by virtue of his dignity as legate, to exhort the King his "brother" to abstain from unchristian severity. And to his "son," the King, the Pope sent another Brief, exhorting him to be careful that while the Inquisition was *free*, it should also be *moderate*; to remember that those neophytes were as yet but babes in Christianity, and that both nature and Holy Scripture teach us to treat babes with soft words rather than threatenings.

We may conjecture yet another reason for such rare gentleness. Paul III., be it remembered, was an earnest patron of the Jesuits in the infancy of their Society. It was he who issued Letters Apostolic to sanction the "Spiritual Exercises" of Ignatius Loyola. The policy of Ignatius and his followers was to convert heretics rather than kill them, and it can hardly be conceived possible that the same Pope would equally

approve of two such contrary methods for the suppression of Protestantism. Yet it was equally the object of Ignatius and of Dominic to get rid, by the easiest method, of all seceders from the Church of Rome. Thus policy was invoked, more than humanity, and the policy of gentleness was manifestly the safer. At this time the Council of Trent was sitting, and Protestantism was formidable. Protestant Princes, in conjunction with the Emperor of Germany, were urging the Pope to make some concession to the fair demands of the Reformers.

Orlandini tells a story of the Prince Cardinal Henry, Inquisitor-General of Portugal, having a monk questioned who, they said, had seen evil spirits.* The man was accustomed to shut himself up in a darkened room, and see visions, by an illusion that would easily befall persons accustomed so to retire for spiritual exercises, according to the direction given in a famous little book by Ignatius Loyola, who was then expecting it to be issued for use under pontifical authority. The chief part of those exercises consists in meditations on the History of our Lord Jesus Christ, on Heaven, and on Hell, and on Purgatory, until the persons and scenes came up in imagination with most exact, yet grotesque particularity of form, feature, action, and even voice; the fragrance of Paradise, or the stench arising from Hell's dark gulfs. This folly was highly commended by Pope Paul III., yet persons who professed themselves clever in seeing visions were very reasonably suspected of proficiency in the Black Art. The young Propaganda was, in this respect, in antagonism with the Inquisition.

For Lutheran heretics, since no one had been commissioned to purchase Briefs, as for the Judaizers, they were left to be burned, unpitied. Doubtless the Pope would allow *their* condemnation to be just. A deep shade of obscurity covers the story of those victims. We find it everywhere stated, indeed, that public exe-

* ORLAND. *Hist. Soc. Jesús.* Pars prima, lib. v. 54.

cutions were no less frequent in Portugal than in Spain, but we do not find authentic materials for a consecutive sketch; and must therefore be content to mark but few instances, and can only give a comparatively brief notice of the Inquisition in Portugal.

William Gardiner, a native of Bristol, was a man "honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension." Having been respectably educated, he entered into the service of a merchant who had connexions both in Spain and Portugal; and, when about twenty-six years of age, was sent to Spain for the transaction of business, but, putting into Lisbon, was there detained for some time. His rapid acquisition of the language, and acquaintance with the commercial relations of his employer, led to his establishment in that port. In those days Englishmen were earnest Protestants, and some such were then in Lisbon, "good and honest men." In their society, with help of good books, and by the blessing of God, he became increasingly earnest in the cultivation of personal religion. On the first day of September, 1552, a son of the King of Portugal was married to a Spanish princess; the wedding was solemnised with great pomp in the cathedral; the King first, and then every estate in order, flocked into the church; mass was celebrated with the utmost ceremony, and "the Cardinal did execute." The young Englishman, who had hitherto kept aloof from Romish worship, had gone with the multitude to see the wedding, rather than the mass, which now he saw in perfection. The Cardinal stood, elevating the host; the people, "with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking." Gardiner felt the horror that seizes on a Christian mind in such a situation, and went home sad. He did not tell the cause of his heaviness

to any one; but, "seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tales he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition." But he came to a determination that could not be executed without putting his life in peril; and, not shrinking from the sacrifice, he deliberately settled all his temporal affairs, paying his debts, and leaving his accounts balanced, and then continued night and day in prayer and meditation in Holy Scripture.

In course of the nuptial festivities another mass was to be performed, the King and the royal family being present, and the Cardinal officiating. William Gardiner was there "early in the morning, very cleanly appareled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse." The King and his train came, the crowd filled the church, and Gardiner, as if carried nearer by the press, took a seat almost close to the altar, having a Testament in his hand, which he read, heedless of the scene. Mass began. But he sat still. "He which said mass proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence; and, as yet, he stirred nothing. At last they came unto that place of the mass where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles.* Then the said William Gardiner, not being able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the Cardinal, and, even in presence of the King, and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other overthrew the chalice."

They were all astounded; but, after the profound silence of a moment, a great cry arose from all the congregation; nobles and common people ran together

* In what is called "the lesser elevation."

to seize him, and one of the latter wounded him in the shoulder with a dagger. But the King commanded him to be saved, and reserved for examination. The tumult having subsided, he was brought before his Majesty, who asked him what countryman he was, and how he dared to commit such an act, in his presence, against the sacraments of the Church. He answered, "Most noble King, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman, both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble Prince, was not done nor thought of by me for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess, to seek only the salvation of this people."

Supposing that he had been instigated by others, Edward VI. being then on the throne of England, and anxious to obtain information, they put him into the care of surgeons, and, when his wound was nearly healed, subjected him to the usual process of examination. He persisted in declaring that they only who committed such gross idolatry were the cause of his action. They took possession of his papers, but could learn nothing. They imprisoned all the English that were then in Lisbon, but could not find any accomplice or adviser. They questioned him as to religion; and so far was he from attempting to evade their inquisition, that he disputed fearlessly with the theologians, using Latin, which, for such a subject, was more familiar to him than Portuguese. Then they administered various kinds of torture; and, among others, forced a ball down his throat, and drew it up again with such violence, and so often repeated, that death would have been more tolerable. After the tormentors had wearied themselves in vain, and he still declared

that he would do the same again, were it possible, to testify against their idolatrous perversion of a holy sacrament, they brought him to the vestry of the cathedral, and chopped off his right hand, which he took up with his left, and kissed. Then they took him to the market-place, cut off his left hand, and mounted him on an ass. From the market-place they carried him thus to the river-side, hoisted him up over a pile of wood, which was set on fire; and, by a rope and pulley, they alternately let him down into it, and pulled him up, that the populace might enjoy the sight of his half-roasted body. "In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit; and, the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed." All this time they were exhorting him to repent, and pray to the Virgin; but he preached to them in return, entreating them to leave off such vanity and folly. "When Christ," said he, "ceases to be *your* Advocate, then will I pray the Virgin Mary to be mine." Life was ebbing out, and with his last breath he prayed, "*Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de genti non sanctâ:*" "Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against an ungodly people." He was endeavouring to recite the psalm, when they drew him up and down with violence, the burning rope broke, and he fell into the pile, and was heard no more.

One *Pendigrace*, his fellow-lodger, was kept in the Inquisition for two years, and frequently tortured; but he said nothing that could enable the Inquisitors to proceed against any of his countrymen, and, after his release, returned to England. From a narrative written by *Pendigrace*, and confirmed by the testimony of other Englishmen, *Foxe*, our great martyrologist, derived the information, as we find it in his "Acts and Monuments."

Scotland was honourably represented at Coimbra. The learned *George Buchanan* was first Professor of Greek and Latin in the university recently established

in that city. He had fled from Scotland as one suspected of Lutheranism, and again incurred suspicion. We take his own account of the matter, as it is written with remarkable moderation. He says that they insulted him most bitterly, stranger as he was, one who certainly had not many there to rejoice in his safety, or sympathize with him in suffering, or to avenge his wrongs. A composition in verse that he had written in Scotland against the Franciscans, but for which the King of Portugal had excused him before he left France to teach in Coimbra, was brought against him. Yet the accusers knew not what it was; for he had only given one copy to the King of Scotland, at whose desire he wrote it. They made it a crime that he ate flesh in Lent, although it was said that there was no one in Portugal who did not do the like. Some things that he said were capable of application to the monks, but those were sayings that none but monks would consider criminal; and they were alleged against him. They were angry that in a familiar conversation with some young Portuguese, when speaking of the eucharist, he had said that he regarded Augustine as very favourable to a view condemned by the Church of Rome. These charges they had extracted as evidence from three prisoners in the Inquisition, whose names he never knew. Other two, Jean Tolpin, a Norman, and Giovanni Ferreri, a Piedmontese, bore witness that they had heard many trustworthy persons aver that Buchanan thought ill of the Roman religion.

And to be brief: after the Inquisitors had troubled themselves and him for a year and a half, that they might not be thought to have vexed a man not altogether unknown without some reason, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, that the monks might teach him more exactly. Now it does not seem that those monks were either unkind or bad, except as they were utterly ignorant of all religion, and so little troubled was he, that it was chiefly at this

time that he reduced to verse several of the Psalms of David.* Buchanan, therefore, was not the worse, nor was the world the poorer, for this persecution, which tended to concentrate his attention on the ever-blessed word of God, and to make the fruit of those studies public. He was released about the year 1550 or 1551, and lost little time in getting well out of Portugal.

In 1560, *Mark Burges*, another Englishman, master of the ship "Minion" was burnt in Lisbon. In the same year, the Inquisition of Goa was added to the four; namely, those of Portugal, Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra. But of Goa we shall speak separately in due course.

The Inquisitors burnt Protestants at every opportunity; but their business was chiefly with the descendants of Jews, who remained separate from the original Portuguese, and were still called New Christians. Nor was any occasion missed, either in Rome or Lisbon, for making gain of those unhappy people by keeping them alive, so long as bigotry was not stronger than cupidity. Thus, in 1579, Sebastian having been beaten by the Moors in a luckless expedition to Africa, they obtained a Bull from Gregory XIII. to exempt them for ten years from confiscation of their property by Inquisitors, in consideration of a sum equal to £250,000 which they had contributed for its outfit. Philip II. of Spain strongly objected to this act of bare justice; and when Cardinal Henry, the same man whom Pope Paul III. had been induced to employ for the protection of that very people, succeeded his nephew Sebastian as king, either forgetting the Pontiff's earlier lessons, or remembering that Papal charity is but venal, he obtained consent of the same Pope to annul the so-called indulgence three months after its publication. Learned men on other occasions set their faces against similar compacts with rich heretics, who were fleeced in Portugal as relent-

* *Georgii Buchanani Vita ab ipso scripta biennio ante Mortem.*
BUCHAN. *Opera*, tom. i.

lessly as now are the Jews in Morocco, and murdered afterwards.

Clement VIII. (August 23rd, 1604) issued a Bull of nominal indulgence, reciting similar documents of Clement VII. and Paul III.: but this one only aggravated the wretchedness of their condition by the restrictions with which it was loaded; and De Sousa acknowledges that its intention was, not to relieve the complainants, but, new circumstances having arisen, so to alter the inquisitorial regulations as to provide a new remedy for heresy. In fact, it was a pardon for past offences under certain conditions; but, after the publication of that pardon, a system of inquisition was to follow, far less easy of escape than any that had preceded. From that time amnesties with spiritual offenders were not repeated, because, as the Portuguese theologians contended, all the tenderness ever spent on heretics had been spent in vain. This was no doubt sincerely said, although it reads like the irony of an enemy; and we may understand it as a confession that the Reformation had taken so deep root that the Inquisition could not extirpate it.

Now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, we wonder at the mockery of a sermon delivered at an *Acto-de-Fé*, in Evora (A.D. 1637), by a commissary of the Holy Office, and Prior of the Dominicans. "My well beloved Portuguese," cried the monk, "let us render our heartiest thanksgivings to heaven for the signal favour that has been shown us in this holy tribunal. If we had not had this, our kingdom would have become a bush without flowers, and without fruit, fit only to be burnt . . . Let us just look on England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries, and see what progress heresy has made through lack of an Inquisition. There can be no difficulty in understanding that we should have been like those places, had we been deprived of so great a benefit." *

Yet, as the ecclesiastics themselves confess, the Inqui-

* *Sermon do Padre Fr. Antonio Continko, impresso em Lisboa, 1638.*

sition has not been able to keep the Gospel out of Portugal. The copy of an address presented on behalf of "a few true Portuguese" to the Patriarch of Lisbon, a few years ago, now lies before me, wherein I read that they deplored the misery of their "poor and unhappy nation, great when it was not governed by strangers," but where *now*, as they are pleased to say, "the ministers of hell do labour, without ceasing, to pull down the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion to the ground."*

England and Germany have done well enough without the horrible Tribunal. France would have done much better without persecuting the Reformed. As for the Low Countries, the Inquisition did no better there than to awaken the horror and indignation of the inhabitants, and provoke a sweeping revolution. But it caused the overthrow of a cruelly despotic monarchy, armed an indignant nation against the See of Rome, prepared an asylum for the persecuted of other lands, founded an emporium of enterprising commerce, and created a centre of religious, moral, and intellectual influences, for which mankind are at this day more deeply indebted to the overruling providence of God than many of us are able to conceive.

* *A Nação*. Lisboa, 6 de Março, 1868.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PORTUGAL.

THE JESUIT VIEYRA AND OTHERS.

ANTONIO VIEYRA, a Jesuit missionary in South America, returned to Portugal in the year 1661; and, on the authority of a summary published by the Inquisitors, describes the sufferings of some victims in an *Acto* held at Evora in the year preceding.

Maria da Conceição, born in the town of Estramoz, daughter of *Manoel Soares Pereira*. Manoel was still living in Lisbon, with a son; and so both father and brother could assist the missionary to understand her case. She was apprehended, together with *two of her sisters*, all three being unmarried, on suspicion of Judaism. She made an abjuration in due form, but that was not enough to satisfy the Inquisitors, and their interrogations did not elicit anything in reply whereon to found a sentence. They therefore ordered her to be stripped, and, with no other covering than the usual coarse canvas drawers, she was laid on the rack. For some time she endured the torture, and by silence nearly overcame the tormentors, when, unable to resist any longer, she confessed to the whole charge. Satisfied for the time, they slackened the cords, took her off the rack, put on her clothes, carried her back to the cell, and, as soon as she had recovered the use of her limbs, brought her into court again, to ratify her confession. But, instead of doing this, she told their lordships that everything she had said while under the executioners' hands was entirely false, and that she was a sincere Christian, and always had been; but that a false confession to the contrary had been wrung from her in the extremity of torture.

On hearing this they ordered her to be racked a second time; and the torture being applied as cruelly as before, she sank again under its violence, and repeated the same confession, which was taken down in writing while her limbs were yet stretched. This done, she was lifted off, and carried to her cell. As soon as she could be removed, she was brought again to her judges, who bade her confirm the first and second confessions. She still persisted in the same answer; and had now the courage to add that, if they were to rack her a hundred times, she would always act in the same manner until she expired, or, at least, so long as God should give her strength to support the torments. Their cruel treatment, she said, and her own frailty, might possibly force her again to confess that of which she was perfectly innocent, yet, the moment she was taken off the rack, she would refuse to ratify what had been thus extorted from her. She further entreated them to take her case into serious consideration, and to undeceive themselves; and, in the most pathetic terms, assured them that this was her final resolution, and that all the torments in the world would not make her alter it. The unrelenting Inquisitors were so provoked by what she said, that they instantly ordered her to be racked a third time; and, as the summary itself declares, she underwent all this torture with amazing constancy.

For refusing to ratify extorted confessions, after having thrice borne the torture, which was as often as the rule of the Inquisition allowed, she was condemned to be whipped through the streets of Lisbon by the common hangman, and then to be banished for ten years, to the island of Principe, on the western coast of Africa.

It would be too tedious to relate many circumstances of wanton and capricious tyranny that attended the arrest and imprisonment of those three sisters, against whom there were very trifling accusations, if any; and neither Inquisitors nor familiars so much as

knew their names.* One might wonder that the Inquisitors should have read out the story at the *Acto*, and printed it afterwards; but their power was at that time uncontrolled; and it pleased them to spread terror through the land by such recitals, for the exaltation of their office, and for the maintenance of their sanguinary faith.

We now come to some of the most noteworthy passages in the history of this Inquisition; and first, concerning this same Jesuit, Vieyra.

His boyhood was spent in Bahia, and the rudiments of his education were acquired in the Jesuit school of that city. His father never intended him to join such an ill-reputed company, but its members make it a virtue to decoy promising youths from their homes, and to alienate their affections from their parents. So did the heads of that establishment, and Antonio, when but a child, became their prey. When about thirty-three years of age, he appeared on the theatre of Jesuit activity in Lisbon. King John IV. made him a preacher in the chapel-royal; and, finding that he had talent for negotiation as well as for preaching, employed him on political missions in England, Holland, and France, and finally, in Rome. At Rome he was induced to devote himself to the romance of mission service, according to the spirit and obligation of his order, and returned to South America, where he continued until the Portuguese in Brazil, being weary of Jesuit missionaries, put him and his colleagues on board ship, and sent them back again. Having reached Lisbon, he went straightway to Court, resumed his political vocation, attached himself to the cause of the licentious Queen, and took an acting part in promoting the deposition of her miserable spouse, Affonso. Passing over matters that have no relation to our

* From a collection of Letters entitled *Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition*, etc. London, 1761. Letter IV. The account of Maria da Conceição is said to be translated from an account written in Portuguese by Antonio Vieyra.

present history, we find him driven from Lisbon, and under disgrace at Coimbra, in the year 1663.

There his political and ecclesiastical enemies be-thought themselves of heresies that he had striven to propagate with characteristic energy; and after hearing him deliver many sermons, having accumulated from his own lips much material for evidence against him, they consigned him to a dungeon in the Inquisition of Coimbra, on the second day of October, 1665, and kept him there until December 24th, 1667. During that time he underwent repeated examinations; and the official record of his case, as published by the Inquisitors, and republished by their friends under royal authority, furnishes the picture of a heretic of a peculiar class. From a very copious and authentic record,* we note as follows.

Vieyra was a sort of millenarian. He had written a paper on "The Hopes of Portugal, Fifth Empire of the World," having for its object to prove that one Bandarra, a shoemaker, was a true prophet. He quoted certain predictions of the said Bandarra, to the purport that about a hundred years before the universal resurrection, a certain dead King of Portugal would rise from his grave, become a great conqueror, and be Emperor of the world. The General Council of the Inquisition of Portugal, and the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition at Rome, each sat in very solemn consultation over this silly paper. They extracted and condemned a multitude of propositions, and among others these following:—

"1. That a dead King would rise again to reign over a fifth empire.

"2. That, to make way for the fifth empire, the Roman empire would be extinguished.

"3. That this might be expected on the credit of Bandarra.

* *Dedução Chronologica, e Analytica. Dada á luz pelo Doutor Joseph de Seabra da Sylva. Lisboa, 1767. PROVA Num. xlv.*

“4. That the said deceased King had promised, before his death, that he would come again to fulfil the prophecy of Bandarra.

“5. That the shoemaker’s predictions were infallible.

“6. That such a resurrection is to be expected with the certainty of a faith as strong as would have been the faith of Abraham for the resurrection of Isaac from his ashes.

“7. That the resurrection of that King would prove the mission of that prophet.

“8. That under his reign all the Jews and all the Gentiles would be converted.

“9. That the ten tribes of Israel would be assembled, and, by the said King, would be presented to the Pope.

“10. That, after this event, Satan would be bound a thousand years.

“11. That the world would live in innocence, without war, and without trouble, until the loosing of Satan, the coming of Antichrist, and the day of judgment.”

The author was brought to the table of the Inquisition, and interrogated after the usual manner. He acknowledged the millenarian paper to be his. He confessed that he had said, in the hearing of several persons, that “in order that it might be known in that kingdom who among the New Christians, baptized out of the Jewish nation, were or were not true Catholics, and who were still Jews, a town or towns might be granted them, whither they might proceed, and where they should have liberty of conscience. He said that they being there assembled, a resolution should be taken whether it would be better to expel from the kingdom such as were not Jews, or to keep them in it.” He owned the proposal; but declared that it was ventured with submission to conscience, and subject to the rejection or approval of the Apostolic See. He acknowledged that in some sermons he

had spoken in a prophetic style, predicting both calamities and blessings to Portugal.

In due time he was brought up again from the dungeon into the presence of the Inquisitors, and told that the Inquisition of Portugal and the Supreme Tribunal at Rome agreed together in condemning his propositions as "foolish, rash, scandalous, injurious, sacrilegious, offensive to pious ears, erroneous, and savouring of heresy." Then they recounted the censurable sentences, one by one; and the heretic, instead of submitting without reserve, prayed permission to explain himself. He was permitted accordingly, and explained at length. This indulgence, conceded to him as a rather eminent member of the Society which until recently had been all-powerful in Portugal, he made use of to plead that his opinions harmonized with those of the Church of Rome.

One thing, however, it is said, exposed him to the ire of his judges beyond almost any heretical dogma he could have uttered. It is reported that he said, in the words of Alonso de Castro,* "Cease to make inquest after heresies. They had better all come out to open day, that they who so readily pronounce against heresy may see how easy it is to be in error." He rebuked the haste of some daring censors, who, panting to speak ill of the doctrine of others, themselves maintained error and falsehood; and bitterly complained that his judges had used force and violence, denying him the natural right of making a defence, insisting that he should only give them his confession, endeavouring to detect his hidden thoughts, and setting down against him answers he had not made. Their only reply to this remonstrance was a rebuke that, in the hearing of some persons, he had said that it would be well for the kingdom if the names of

* I cannot believe that De Castro ever said anything like this. It is possible, of course; but I have not found anything in his book tending in the like direction. Vieyra might himself have so spoken.

informers and witnesses at that Board were published for the information of New Christians when accused of Judaism, and proceeded against in consequence. And he had also advised the admission of Jews to public offices, and proposed that they should never be troubled on account of religion, provided they said nothing against it.

“And the process having reached this point, at which the obstinacy of the criminal in his erroneous and dangerous opinions was leading him blindfold towards a miserable precipice; in order that he might have certain knowledge in this inquisition that the first nine propositions, taken from the said paper of the Fifth Empire of the World, on which all the others depended, and from which they were derived by the criminal, were not only censured, as already stated, by the most grave examiners of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office at Rome, but that also, being seen, after their censure, by the Holiness of Pope Alexander VII., he expressly approved that censure, and commanded notice of this to be given by the said Congregation to the General Council of the Holy Office of this kingdom, and the papers to be so condemned, and the inventions of Bandarra to be so prohibited as here, in effect, they are.”

This condemnation was made known to Vieyra at the table of the Holy Office. A hundred and four propositions, extracted from his paper on the Fifth Empire, were read; and he made, or was said to have made, an unqualified retractation of them all, “submitting himself to that which was decided by His Holiness, (having been previously censured by the ministers of the Holy Office,) as became an obedient son of the Holy Catholic Roman Church.”

The guardians of the faith commanded that the culprit should hear his sentence in the hall of the Inquisition, in the accustomed form, before the Inquisitors and other ministers of the same, with some monks and priests belonging to the University; and

be "deprived for ever of active or passive voice, forbidden to preach, and confined in that college or house of his own religion which the Holy Office may assign to him, and never go out of it without their order : that, for the term by them appointed, he be obliged to abstain from treating on those propositions of which he was convicted, either by word or writing, on pain of being punished severely : and that, after the sentence is thus published, it be published again in the college of this city," (Coimbra,) "by one of the notaries of the Holy Office in presence of all the community : and they shall relieve him from the greater condemnation that for his faults he merited, having respect, &c. ; and *he must pay the costs.*"

This sentence was recited to the culprit in the hall of the Inquisition, on Friday evening, December 23rd, 1667, two hours and a quarter being spent in reading it ; and on the Saturday morning following it was published in his college, whence he was taken to the Jesuit-house at Pedroso, which was assigned to him for the place of his confinement ; but which, before his leaving, was changed by the General Council for the house of the Cotovia in Lisbon ; and, being in that house, he was released and pardoned by the same Council, at the end of the month of June, 1668. In August, 1669, he left the Court of Lisbon for that of Rome, with licence from the King, and at the summons of the General of his Order, who wished to do him honour, and was eager to retaliate on the indignity done to the whole Company in the person of one of its most eminent members. An opportunity for retaliation soon occurred.

Only a few days before the publication of the sentence on Vieyra, another Jesuit, Nuno da Cunha, had been summoned by the Queen-Mother to a private conference, to concert a measure for the deposition of the King, Affonso VI. It matters not to inquire whether that young King deserved such treatment, or to know the character of his mother, Donha Luisa

or of his wife, who retired to a convent, was divorced from him, and married his successor on the throne of Portugal. It is enough to note that the Jesuits managed this affair; and that in the reign of Dom Pedro IV., whom they patronised, the Inquisition lost just what the Society gained. During the regency of Dom Pedro, Vieyra was released from Lisbon, and went to Rome, there to assist in carrying on an attack on that Tribunal. Thanks, then, to Jesuit influence, that Vieyra was not racked and burnt, just like any worthless plebeian too insignificant to be known by name and surname, or like one of the Jews.

In the year 1672 a general attack was made on all the New Christians in Lisbon, in consequence of the loss—or, perhaps, the secret removal by some priest—of a few *forms*, or wafers, from one of the churches. There was no one on whom suspicion could be fixed; but the Inquisitors, if they had not contrived the occasion, resolved to profit by it, seized many hundred persons who had the misfortune to be of Jewish descent, drew on them a flood of popular outrage, and subjected them to the dreadful ordeal of torture. Their sufferings, for once, excited pity; and some Portuguese noblemen, bishops, monks, and doctors, went in a body to the King, and begged him to put an end to these atrocities. His Majesty did not dare to open the dungeons, take out the innocent sufferers, and incarcerate the guilty Inquisitors in their stead; but he did presume to refer the matter to the Court of Rome. Before an answer could be had, the thief was detected, not a New Christian, but an old one; and therefore the injured persons ought, in common honesty, to have been released, and compensated, so far as compensation could be made; but the Inquisitors thought that such an act would be beneath their dignity, and therefore kept the unoffending prisoners in durance, in order to question them further, in the presumption that they must have had some communication with the criminal.

The appeal to Rome was prosecuted ; and Pope Clement X., that he might judge of their manner of conducting trials, commanded the chiefs of the Holy Office to send the records of four. They refused. The Pope insisted. No reports were forthcoming. The Pope threatened them with excommunication. They began to fear ; and, not able to send the reports of four causes, not having so many on record, they managed to send two. The King, sharing in the indignation of the complainants, prosecuted his application to the Court of Rome for a reform in the rules and administration of the Inquisition, but gained nothing. After his death, the Inquisitors had the audacity to go to his widow, Donha Luisa, then, by the law of Portugal, Queen-Regnant, take her to the grave of her late consort, exhume his body, and treat it with brutal insult in her presence. No doubt there was a mingling of political passion with inquisitorial barbarism in this instance, but that only made their conduct the more abominable.

In the year 1690 a deputation from the New Christians of Portugal appeared in Rome, and threw themselves at the feet of Alexander VIII., imploring pity on five hundred prisoners, of all ranks and ages, then in the dungeons, who had been arrested without respect of sex or condition, and had lain there, some fourteen years, some twelve, and none less than seven.

On reviewing the affairs of this Inquisition, we find few traces of true Gospel Christianity among its victims. Darkness and the shadow of death covered the land ; and the hired guardians of the faith having few objects of persecution on account of religion, kept their places by making other victims. Cupidity, perhaps, more than bigotry, led them to the New Christians ; and the prevalence of magic and witchcraft afforded them constant occupation. A superstitious dread of innovation enabled them to enlarge the circle of their operations ; and I borrow an amusing anecdote to diversify for a moment this dismal page.

Just thirty years after an Italian Jesuit, Francesco Lana Terzi, had published the first hint for aerostation, in his "*Prodromo di alcune Invenzioni nuove*," another member of the Society, Bartolomeo Gusmão, arrived at Lisbon from a mission in Brazil. Once, when in that country, his attention was caught by some extremely light vegetable substance, spherical and hollow, that was floating like a bubble in the air. He tried to imitate nature, and succeeded in inflating bags of thin paper with hot air, or some kind of gas, and sending them up towards the sky. At length he constructed a real balloon, and conceived the idea of ascending with it to the clouds. Full of this project was he when he set foot on shore at Lisbon. His balloon went up without him, as if to pilot for a daring flight; and Lisbon gazed upwards, as with the eye of one man. The clergy shuddered at this trespass on a region hitherto inaccessible to mankind; but when they heard that Gusmão himself proposed to mount bodily with it, or with one like it, they thought it high time to interfere, and the innovator was brought into their presence. They demurred at the safety of such an ascent, as well they might; and the inventor, not fathoming the depth of their abhorrence, assured them that there would be no danger whatever, nor any difficulty either, and that he would engage to carry away into the winds the Grand Inquisitor himself, and all the members of the Inquisition. The irreverent proposal confirmed their Lordships in the persuasion by this time prevalent in Lisbon, that Gusmão was possessed by the devil; and, instead of consenting to be carried up into empty space, they sent him down into a dark cell, and put an end, at least for the time, to any chance of his attempting such excursions. In vain did he labour to assure them that the balloon, or whatever else he might have called the vehicle, was not framed in contempt of any religious doctrine, or in violation of any law of the Church. Their sentence was resistless; and he was sent into his dungeon,

there to meditate on the uncertainties of science. The Jesuits, however, used their best influence, and obtained the release of their too venturous brother, who prudently retired over the frontier into Spain. This happened in the year 1700; and in 1724 this pioneer of aeronauts died, not having again ventured to propose an ascent into the realm of air.*

* *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire, de la Compagnie de Jesus*, par J. CRÉTINEAU JOLY. Tome iv., chap. 240.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PORTUGAL.

VAIN HOPE OF REFORMATION.

THE Jesuit *Balthasar da Costa*, Provincial of Malabar, a Jew by blood, and probably a Jew in principle, was at that time resident in the College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon. Touched with sympathy and horror, he resolved to espouse the cause of his brethren, and presented an address, with that intent, to Manoel Fernandes, confessor of Pedro, who was then Regent of the kingdom. As representative of "the Nation," as the baptised Jews were called, he bade the Father Confessor peace in Christ, and proceeded to make a proposal in their behalf.

The conquests of Portugal in India were melting away for want of sufficient forces to retain them. The Provincial of Malabar therefore proposed that three thousand men should be raised, and embarked as quickly as possible; that ships of war should be built in India, where materials and labour were much cheaper than in Portugal; that the army should be increased by constant additions, and the fleet manned as fast as it could be constructed. But, seeing the exhausted state of the Indian revenue, his reverence the Confessor might reasonably ask where money could be found for the creation of a new army and new navy beyond the seas, and the maintenance of such forces for time to come. "Your reverence asks how? I answer: By one means which is not contrary to any law, Divine or human, but may be considered very agreeable to both, as much resembling one of the highest attributes of God—as we men speak—which is that of

mercy, that attribute which shines forth so brightly in forgiving sinners; and since God has pardoned, thousands of times, those on whom I think this attribute should now be exercised, princes ought to imitate the same. Let me explain myself. What man of sound understanding would think it strange if His Highness were to give a general pardon to all his people of the Hebrew nation?" The Provincial presses this proposal with great earnestness and force of argument, and asks what would follow that exercise of royal clemency. "A very rich donative would follow; a revival of commerce, and a great accession of martial power and influence would follow, with recovery of dominion in India. Religion itself would be benefited; for those forces could fight against the enemies of Christ, and, by killing the Indians, would extend the kingdom of the Saviour." Such were this Jew-Jesuit's notions of slaughtering pagans and Nestorians for the greater glory of God.

But would not "the people of the Nation" abuse a general pardon by relapsing into Judaism again? And then would not old mischiefs be repeated? Would not these people, smitten with dread again, flee from Portugal by thousands, carrying their wealth into other kingdoms, defrauding the Exchequer, spoiling the commerce of Portugal, and snapping the very nerves of power in the kingdom? "Again I say that for this there is a remedy. When a general pardon has been granted, the manner of proceeding with these people in the Holy Tribunal should be reformed by apostolical authority, proceeding with them as they do at Rome. And who can prevent this? Do we want to be more zealous in the faith than the Supreme Pontiff, head of the Church, and Vicar of Christ on earth? Does the Vicar of Christ act against Divine, natural, or ecclesiastical right, in allowing a defence to them that are accused, and permitting them to see the evidence, as the laws of nations require? No one could say this without rashness."

That a reform in the procedure of the Portuguese Inquisition was needed, he showed by referring to the last persecution at Coimbra. "Your reverence knows very well that in order to fix upon ten persons who may be accused, you must first of all take up twenty. . . . Did not your reverence see in those six hundred and thirty-four, if I remember right, at Coimbra, how many innocent persons were put under penance through false witnesses, and how many were also punished as falsifiers?" What has happened once may be repeated often, and cannot but be repeated, if things are done in the dark. The proposal, Da Costa acknowledges, may alarm Fernandes, and a storm of indignation may be raised against it by the Inquisitors; but that will not matter much, if His Highness will pursue the object vigorously at Rome: and the object being once gained, there is a person at Rome who will watch what goes forward in that Court,—this is Antonio Vieyra,—and his Highness can use his own sovereign power to see the reform of the Inquisition carried out in Portugal.

Here was a scheme to cut up the very root of the Inquisition. For if a Prince might issue a general pardon to heretics or Jews, and if the temporal power might interfere with the customs of Inquisitors, the Holy Office might be as well shut up. Nevertheless, the scheme was entertained, and was as follows:—

"1. It is proposed that the Inquisitors abstain from imprisonments and executions. If these should cease, His Highness, whom God preserve, would be better served; but the affair must be confided to persons of prudence, and left to the ultimate disposal of His Highness himself.

"2. Whatever is done must be done secretly, or every effort will be baffled. Four persons are named as proper to be trusted, collective deliberations of any greater number are to be avoided, and yet every individual of "the Nation" is to be taken into confidence, not failing one.

“3. All the money necessary for raising the desired number of soldiers shall be paid down in advance, and the recruiting shall begin without loss of time.

“4. Supplies of clothing and provisions shall be forthcoming.

“5. His Highness shall be recommended to send a courier to Madrid, who shall there take post to Rome, which city he may reach in ten days, and there await the decision of His Holiness.”

From the pen of Manoel Fernandes we have a further exposition of the project, authenticated, like the other papers, and printed by royal order.

Confessor Fernandes sagaciously begins by declaring that his clients desire no more than that their causes be examined in truth, and certain inconveniences obviated which might occur, not through any fault of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, which they profess to acknowledge as very perfect in justice, and very mild in mercy, but through confusion and want of veracity in many people of their own nation, who make accusations to gratify private enmity, and from other dishonest motives. Actuated, then, by the purest Christian motives, and admiring the mercy and justice of Inquisitors, Fernandes merely asks that, for this time, a general pardon be granted them for everything, to leave them just as if, up to the present, they had not committed any delinquency; — that all the prisoners now in durance be released without further penalty; and that in future accused persons be judged at the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition in Portugal, in the same manner as the Holy Father judges them in Rome. For the glory of God, and for the exaltation of the faith of Jesus Christ, they offer at once in this month of March, 1673,—

“1. To land five thousand men in India, with all necessaries for their use, at their own cost. The ships in which they go, the peoples of the Nation will hire; and as to any ships that they may hire of His High-

ness, they will cover all risk by sea, by fire, and by pirates. For the future, they will purchase all the ships necessary; but, at present, time is short, and they need the ready money for the soldiers.

"2. Every year they will convey to India one thousand two hundred men, paid here at their cost, and the ships in which they go. They will send them to whatever part of India may be desired.

"3. Every year they will pay in India twenty thousand crusades towards the maintenance of the forces, beginning with the year 1674.

"4. They will supply all the missionaries to India with provisions for their voyage, and will pay for the letters (Bulls) of all bishops sent to India, so often as bishops shall be wanted.

"5. They will engage to establish a Company for India, supplying the capital in that form which may be agreed on with His Highness, whom God preserve."

That all this may take effect, they represent that the utmost dispatch will be necessary, as there is little time. And, meanwhile, the Inquisition should abstain from executions and imprisonments, because imprisonments, within the next two months, might be very prejudicial to the business in hand, as is evident.

Grievous must have been the suffering that extorted so large an overture from the baptised Jews of Portugal. They had ventured to the utmost verge of possibility, if not beyond it; and when Fernandes held a conference with the authors of the scheme, and endeavoured to extract yet more, they met his demands with such explanations as demonstrated that if their lives depended on compliance, their lives must be lost, inasmuch as they had calculated to the utmost extent of their ability, and to produce any higher ransom was impossible. Three months more were spent in negotiation; and the Regent, finding that he could not raise the terms any higher, accepted the articles of agreement.

Then Manoel Fernandes, still keeping the secret, drew up a letter to be sent by Dom Pedro to the Pope, praying for his authority to suspend the action of the Inquisition, and to reform its laws. Besides reciting the complaints of the Hebrew nation, the latter stated that, in one year, and in one *Acto-de-Fé*, no fewer than thirty of the New Christians were brought out to be punished for having caused persons to be put to death by bearing false witness against them. Yet that false witnessing was forced by threatenings or torture; for, when in terror of death, or bewildered in agony, they had named persons of whom they knew nothing, saying anything that the tormentors wished, only to be delivered from their hands. One Inquisitor, having some fear of God, or some feeling of humanity, had relinquished his office in disgust, on seeing persons crowd into his presence to accuse others, without the slightest reason beyond the mere animal instinct of doing something to please the Holy Tribunal, and thereby save their own lives, perish who might. "Through fear of false accusations," says the letter, "neither the good nor the bad feel themselves in safety; and, consequently, the land loses its inhabitants, and multitudes flee away to heretical countries, where many of them lose their faith, and their children continue in heresy, or turn Jews again, to the irreparable injury both of the Church and of the kingdom, which is drained of its population and its wealth. Even those who have not yet left the country have sent away their capital, in order that, if they be thrown into the Inquisition, it may not be included in the attendant confiscation. Consequently, the kingdom cannot follow up its conquests, especially in India, which is now for the most part in possession of the Dutch, who keep it by the power of a Company, which they strengthen with money brought them by people of 'the Nation.'"

For this reason His Highness prays the Pope to reform the Inquisition of Portugal, and assimilate it

to that of Rome. He supplies His Blessedness with a motive for so doing, and for granting a general pardon to that people, by telling them that "they bind themselves for ever to defray the expenses of missionaries of the faith, and also to pay them that are made bishops for India, and to aid with money the propagation of the Catholic faith, which will doubtless be much extended. For which end, I lay this petition before Your Holiness, having first taken counsel with many learned and virtuous persons, and which I hope will have effect, and for the highest reason do so desire."

Francisco d'Azevedo, also a Jesuit, the agent sent to Rome at the cost of the supplicants, discharged his duty very zealously, aided by the no less diligent Vieyra, and communicated intelligence of his proceedings to Fernandes. Without much delay, Pope Clement X. accepted an obviously prudent policy, and sent a Brief to his Nuncio in Lisbon, to be used whenever it might become necessary to restrain the Inquisitors. But the desire of the Regent of Portugal to hold the Inquisition in subjection to the Crown, leaving the King to correspond directly with the Pope, was not granted. The Nuncio, too, kept the Brief to himself, not even informing Dom Pedro that he had received it. On this rock of jealousy of the temporal power, therefore, the whole project of inquisitorial reform was wrecked.

The Inquisitors of Coimbra proceeded, as usual, to celebrate one of their annual *Actos*; and, either in haste to gratify their impatience for the spectacle, or, which is most likely, to avoid the interference of the Pope's Nuncio, whom they knew as representing the mind of Rome just then favourable to the reform they dreaded, it was determined to light the fires a week before the time accustomed. The Inquisitor-General of Portugal had promised the Nuncio, in general terms, that he would abstain from celebrating *Actos* for the present; but he now pretended to have understood that that promise would be considered to relate

to Lisbon only, and not to the provinces. The Roman Congregation of the Inquisition, too, had so tempered the Pope's intention, that the Nuncio was instructed not to interfere, so long as the Inquisitors would suspend those public exhibitions, whatever they might do in the impenetrable secrecy of the torture-chamber and the dungeon.

But this precipitate activity at Coimbra compelled the Nuncio to send his secretary to the Inquisitor-General with the Brief of Inhibition, and a copy of the same to be shown to his companions. The Inquisitors of Coimbra were to be told that if they persisted in their purpose, and held an *Acto*, it would be at their own peril. They would no longer be regarded as Inquisitors, but as private persons; and would be obliged to make reparation of all injuries committed on the sufferers, in honour or in life. He advised the Inquisitor-General to send a special messenger to Coimbra, who might arrive there at night, and have the *Acto* deferred until a future day. The Brief was, as yet, to be kept secret; but if an answer of compliance did not reach the Nuncio before four o'clock that afternoon, he would wait no longer, but then do as he should see fit.

The Inquisitor could not resist that authority, but he complained to the Regent. The Regent, hearing that, after all his pains, the Nuncio was acting without royal sanction, and putting a Brief in force in his dominions without his knowledge, became extremely angry; and, when the offender called at the palace next day, refused to see him. This incident might not have prevented the accomplishment of Da Costa's project, for it was approved at Rome, and the Cardinal Barberino wrote a letter of thanks to Fernandes for himself and the other members of the Society in Lisbon. Azevedo and Vieyra kept up the good will of their patrons at the Papal Court; and the Inquisition in Portugal would have undergone some permanent change, if the justifiable jealousy of Dom Pedro, not

sufficiently balanced by sound policy and self-possession, had not impelled him to oppose the very measure he had sought.

Active correspondence followed, and Vieyra now appears openly at Rome, endeavouring, through Confessor Fernandes, to induce the Regent of Portugal to make a Jesuit the Grand Inquisitor in his dominions, and thus to bring all the Inquisitors under the control of the Jesuit Confessor and his Company. But this negotiation also came to nothing. As for the Indian scheme, the terms were vague, as well as exorbitant, and could hardly have been carried into effect, and all interests were selfish and conflicting. The Regent, with all his good sense, was moved by covetousness, not pity. The Jesuits were actuated by ambition and revenge, not mercy. The Pope and his creatures obeyed policy rather than religion, and while the offer of gold purchased for the baptised Jews a brief hope of deliverance, the essential spirit of Romanism could not be changed. The *principle* of Inquisition had always been approved by the Jesuits, and allowed by the courtiers, and here again the momentary impulse to reform failed to produce any permanent result.

Clement X. died in 1676, and Vieyra left Rome. The agent Azevedo could do no more. Innocent XI. ascended the Papal throne; and after the Brief of his predecessor had produced no other effect than to prevent, perhaps, a few imprisonments, and delay a few burnings, it left those who lay in the dungeons of the Holy Office to perish there. At length, the Archbishop of Braga obtained from Innocent a Bull to nullify the Brief of Inhibition, and restore the tribunal in Portugal to full power.* Of this restoration there is abundant evidence.

A list preserved by Dr. Geddes contains a hundred and six names with a summary of each case, being the report of an Acto celebrated in Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1682, after the new death-warrant of Pope

* Da Sylva. *Prova*, Num. lyii.

Innocent. Tenderness, they said, had ever been spent in vain on heretics, and therefore, was not to be wasted any longer. *Six men and two women* had died in prison, and their effigies were burnt. *Ninety-four men and women* were subjected to various punishments of flogging, imprisonment, banishment, and galleys, for a great variety of offences, all of them being in some way or other heretical. There was contempt or injury to the Holy Office, bigamy, the crime against nature, Judaism, Mohammedanism, witchcraft, compacts with the devil, and sacrilege. The following *four men* were delivered to the secular arm:—

“*Gaspar Lopez Pereire*, a New Christian, a merchant, a bachelor, the son of Francisco Lopez Pereire, a native of the town of Mogadouro, an inhabitant of Madrid, and resident in this city of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the law of Moses, obstinate, and impenitent.” He was burnt alive.

“*Antonio de Aguiar*, a New Christian, a merchant, a native of Lanichenilla, near to Madrid, an inhabitant of Seville, and resident in this city of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the law of Moses, obstinate, impenitent.” He was burnt alive.

“*Miguel Henriques da Fonseca*, a New Christian, an advocate, native of the town of Avias, an inhabitant in this city of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the law of Moses, obstinate, impenitent.” These three were burnt alive within two hours after their delivery to the secular arm.

“*Pedro Serraon*, more than half a New Christian, a bachelor, the son of Antonio Serraon an apothecary, (who is in this list) a native, and inhabitant of this city, convicted, negative and obstinate.” This last was strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes with the preceding three.

I borrow from a manuscript record a suggestive catalogue of victims in various degrees at Lisbon, August 8th, 1683, in a General Acto.*

Three men for an unnatural crime did penance.

* B. M. 4625, g. 1.

Six suspected persons made abjuration de levi.

A man, 33 years of age, appeared in the character of *wizard*, had been convicted of superstitious practices, and was sentenced to three years' hard labour at Castromarin.

A converted Jew, aged 27 years. Name, Francisco de Portugal, born at Tetuan, in the very heart of animal barbarism, was pompously convicted of *heretical* and ill-sounding propositions. The penalty of his inevitable ignorance, if such it was, was stripes first, and then five years in the galleys.

Matias Duarte, a poor man, 31 years of age, native of the island of the Pico, and inhabitant of Terceira. His guilt was "heretical propositions." To prevent any further use of his tongue that might offend the priests or others, he was sentenced to wear a gag, and condemned to seven years of abject suffering in the galleys.

Manoel de Acosta Oliveyra, aged 33 years. This was a surgeon, born in Lisbon, where he then resided. He had married two women, and his great guilt must have lain in the abuse of the *sacrament* of marriage, but the crime was frequent in Portugal. Oliveyra was flogged, and sent to the galleys for five years.

Amadeo de Soto, 31 years old, a labourer, came from Terceira. His offence is bigamy, and the penalty five years in the galleys.

An ex-monk, who was not in priest's orders, but had presumed to say mass. He is called *Antonio de Basconceloz*. He was to be flogged, and after that, be chained to the oar in the galleys for six years.

After abjuration *de vehementi* for Judaism, *Manoel Gomez Carcereres*, 49 years old, a New Christian, physician in practice in Lisbon. To be flogged, then to suffer imprisonment with penitential habit at pleasure of jailors, probably for life.

Two did not abjure, and appeared in the Acto. These were:—*João Suarez de Silveyra*. An apothecary, 32 years old. He had been *reconciled* in an

Acto of the year 1673, but again taken as a *revocante*; and sentenced to wear the penitential habit, suffer three years as a convict at Miranda, and then be graciously banished from Portugal.

Francisco Manuel Delgado, 43 years old. A merchant, convicted of Judaism, like Silveyra. He had been *reconciled* in an Auto in the Church of St. Ann of Triana in Seville a fortnight before, but escaped and is caught here in Lisbon. He wears the *sambenito*, will be sent to the prison of this Inquisition, and be flogged, and then, wearing the vile habit, will be sent to Brazil as a convict for three years. This punishment seems comparatively light, but a Jew-born merchant was not a man to be killed. He could be robbed now and again, and being let loose after the three years convict life, could return to business and be made prey of at any convenient occasion.

Twenty more men *abjured* on charge of Judaism, but no particulars are registered. They go to their sad penances in the mass.

One woman, a New Christian *suspected*, was absolved in prison, but came to adorn the Act.

Three women *condemned* to hard penances, no doubt. They had been accused of seeing visions. The last of them, 61 years old, was to suffer lashes, and then be sent across the ocean to Brazil for five years.

Other two women had been practising *witchcraft*, and were said to be in league with the devil. They too were to be flogged, and be three years at Castro-marín.

There was one woman who did not abjure and fifteen who did. Their offence was *Judaism*, but the servants of the Holy Office did not take the trouble to describe them or their cases.

The three following were burnt alive:—

“*Diogo Ruiz Enriquez*. 47 years. New Christian. Merchant. Convicted.—Negative and pertinacious.”

“*Diogo Ramos*. 65 years. New Christian. Shoemaker. Convicted. Negative. Relapsed.”

"*Ana Ruiz*. 71 years. Convicted. Feigned. False. Deceitful. Continént. Diminutive. Impenitent."

Another list preserved by Dr. Geddes accounts for threescore men and women who were brought out in an Act of Faith, in Lisbon, on Sunday, 6th November, 1707, "the most illustrious Lord Bishop Nuno d'Acunha de Ataida, Counsellor of State, and Dean of His Majesty's Chapel being Inquisitor-General. First we have the men, and then the women, *twenty-five* of the former, and *thirty-one* of the latter, condemned to most cruel punishments which few of them could possibly survive, with two men and two women burnt alive within two hours after the sentences were pronounced. These were

"*Don Gabriel Luis de Medina*, aged 67 years, a New Christian, a merchant, native of the Court (Royal city) of Madrid, in the Kingdom of Castile, and inhabitant in this city of Lisbon; feigned, false, dissembling, confessing, diminutive and impenitent.

"*Antonio Tavares da Costa*, aged 33, half a New Christian,* a merchant, native and inhabitant in this city; feigned, false, dissembling, confessing, revoking, varying and impenitent.

"*Maria Lopes de Sequeyra*, aged 26, a New Christian, not married; the daughter of Joseph de Sequeyra, a farmer of the revenue, native and inhabitant in this city: feigned, false, dissembling, confessing, diminutive and impenitent.

"*Donha Margarida Correa*, aged 54, a New Christian, the widow of Thomas Pinto, a shop-keeper, native of the city of Malaga, in the Kingdom of Castile, and inhabitant in the town of Setuval, in this Archbishopric; convicted, negatives, pertinacious and relapsed."

Dr. Geddes makes some notes on this list well worth reading; such are the following:—

* *Half* a New Christian, because either his father or his mother was not of the Jewish race.

On *Luis dos Reys*, a Friar, he observes: "If this friar was a priest, as it is probable he was, at the age of nine-and-twenty, and withal was no Christian, (as the Inquisitors say he was not) could he, when he administered the Sacraments ever intend to do that as a Christian ordinance? This therefore, shows plainly how uncertain all Papists are of their being Christians, according to the doctrine of their own Church, that the intention of the priest that consecrates is necessary to the being of a Sacrament. But whether that was this friar's case or not, it is not yet forty years since a parish priest was burnt at Lisbon, who confessed that whenever he administered a Sacrament, he had a formed intention not to administer it as a Divine ordinance; upon which all the children that had been christened by him, and were alive, were baptized anew. I was told this by Consul Maynard, who saw him burnt at Lisbon."

On two married women, one thirty, and the other thirty-three years of age, he writes: "Let these young married women be kept never so long in the prisons of the Inquisition, their husbands, though never so fond of them, dare not for their lives express the least uneasiness at it; nor dare a parent for a child, nor a child for a parent. Nay, if they do not seem to rejoice at it, as a thing that is for the benefit of the prisoner's souls, they will fall under the suspicion of being heretics themselves. This fills all places where there are Inquisitions with hypocrisy and dissimulation, to the debasing of people's natures and cowing of their spirits. And should the degeneracy from the martial courage of their ancestors, which is at this time so visible in divers nations, be imputed to the Inquisition's terrible and merciless persecutions, which are among them on the account of religion, I do not believe that the thought could be looked on as very extravagant."

And on *Leonora Maria*, a poor girl only fourteen years of age, he makes the following impressive observations:—

“What a dismal thing must it be for a young creature, so young as this was, being under fourteen when she was first thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, to spend months, if not years, all alone in a dark hole, without seeing or hearing any living creature besides a dogged keeper, and now and then the angry Inquisitors, threatening her with the tortures of the rack, if she did not confess all her heresies, and discover all her teachers and complices in them. And who can express the agonies the spirits of tender parents are in, knowing their children, whom they had bred up delicately, to be in such dreadful circumstances? and these agonies are the more torturing, for their not daring to make the least discovery of them, on pain of being suspected as favourers of heretics. And how airy and beautiful soever these young ladies are when they are first arrested by a familiar, they do, one and all, in the procession of the Act of the Faith, either stalk like so many walking ghosts, or, if they are carried, as they are pretty often, they look like so many alabaster statues, carried upon hand-barrows; nothing of colour nor of life being to be seen in their lips, nor about their eyes, which are commonly shut close, by reason of their not being able to endure the light after their having been so long in darkness; the young women’s countenances being commonly so much changed from what they were, that as they walk, or are carried in the procession, they are not certainly known by their nearest relations and most intimate acquaintance.”*

Let it be observed in passing, that a comparative study of the two Inquisitions of the Iberian Peninsula would disclose a very strongly marked distinction between them. The punctual rigour of the Spanish Inquisitors is not repeated in Portugal, where the student cannot fail to observe a more savage, yet more

* *Miscellaneous Tracts in three Volumes.* By MICHAEL GEDDES, Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum. London, 1714. Vol. I., Tract v.

feeble, discipline. False witnesses, for example, are seldom or never punished in Spain, but rather rewarded; whereas in Portugal, after their evidence had been accepted, they have been punished by scores at once. In Spain, proposals to reform the Tribunal would bring the proposers to the stake; whereas in Portugal the subject is freely canvassed in open day. In the one kingdom an Inquisitor resigning his office in disgust would be surely put to death; but in the other an Inquisitor has been known to resign, not only with impunity, but with applause. Yet the Portuguese *Actos* are distinguished by a brutal excess of torment, betraying a weakness and wantonness far beyond what we generally find even in Spain.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PORTUGAL.

BARBARITIES, ABOMINATIONS, AND DECLINE.

A FOREIGNER in Spain, who saw a crowd of spectators, cowed and uncowed, surrounding a *quemadero*, with a pile of faggots blazing, and a human being shrieking and burning in the midst of it, half concealed, however, by fuel and smoke, might suppose the executioners to be men possessed by infernal spirits, and thus impelled to perpetrate a deed emblematical, as they say, of the last judgment, but certainly presenting a resemblance to hell.

In Portugal the scene was not less fiendish, and it was also more profoundly brutal. In the Act itself, the Spanish and Portuguese customs were very similar. The use of the gag, for example, prevailed in both, and was affectingly exemplified to Dr. Michael Geddes, when a prisoner was brought out who had been several years shut up in a dungeon where clear daylight never penetrated. He saw the poor man raise his eyes towards the sun, and heard him exclaim in rapture, as if overwhelmed with the majesty of the object, "How can people that behold that glorious body worship any other being than HIM that created it?" Instantly the gag was thrust into his mouth, and the priests who attended him to the *Terreiro de Paco* were not troubled with any more of his reflections. Instead of being marched thence to the place of execution, they who were to be burnt were taken first to common prisons, kept there for an hour or two, and then brought before the Lord Chief Justice, who asked each of them in what religion he intended to

die. If he said, "In the Roman Catholic Apostolic," the sentence was, that he should first be strangled, and then burnt. If he named the Protestant, or any other differing from the Romish, that functionary directed that he should be burnt alive. This rule was universal.

At Lisbon, the place of execution was at the water-side. For each person to be burnt, whether dead or alive, a thick stake, or spar, was erected, not less than twelve feet above ground ; and within about eighteen inches of the top there was a thick cross-piece, to serve for a seat, and to receive the tops of two ladders. Between those ladders, which were for the use of two priests, there was one for the condemned person, whom they compelled to mount, sit on the transverse piece, and there be chained fast. The priests then went up, delivered a hasty exhortation to repentance, and, that failing, declared that they left him to the devil, who was waiting to receive his soul. On perceiving this, the mob shouted, "Let the dog's beard be trimmed ;" that is to say, let his face be scorched. This was done by tying pieces of furze to the end of a long pole, and holding the flaming bush to his face until it was burnt black. The disfiguration of countenance, and his cries for "mercy for the love of God," furnished great part of the amusement for the crowd, who, if he had been suffering death in a less barbarous way for any criminal offence, would have manifested every appearance of compassion. When "the beard" was trimmed, they lit the heap of furze at the foot of the stake, and, if there was no wind, the flame would envelope the seat, and begin to burn the legs ; but, as there generally is a breeze on the banks of the Tagus, it seldom reached so high. If there was no wind, he would be dead in half an hour ; but the victim generally retained entire consciousness for an hour and a half, or two hours, in dire torment, which the spectators witnessed with such delight as could never be produced by any other spectacle. In

short, the burning, or rather roasting to death, was so contrived that the sufferer should be exposed to every spectator, and that his cries from that elevation should be distinctly audible all round.

After such a brutalizing education, who can wonder at the degradation of the Portuguese, notwithstanding the ancient wealth and power of Portugal, once the first maritime nation in the world, with the fertility of the soil, the loveliness of the climate, and the commercial advantages that lie open to the people, especially in relation to Great Britain? But the cause of their degradation is evident. The cause is Popery; and until that be removed, the cure cannot be effected.

From the common humiliation no class of people was exempt. Persons of the highest respectability were made to walk in procession, as penitents, in the so-called Acts of Faith, in punishment of the slightest indiscretion, or in consequence of the most frivolous accusation. This occurred to *Doctor Francisco Figueyras*, a Jew, whose talents and integrity made him valuable to the clergy of Lisbon,—whom he served as advocate, or procurator, of the Archbishop, afterwards Patriarch,—and hateful to the Inquisitors. He was thrown into their prison, narrowly escaped the fire, walked in the garb of a penitent, about the year 1730; and some time afterwards, when the Patriarch entered Lisbon in state, the Jewish Doctor walked before him, bearing the *insignia* of the Church whose rights, in the exercise of his functions, he had often skilfully defended, Jew though he was! *

Absolutism was never more perfect in Portugal than during the first half of the eighteenth century. All classes were laid level before the Holy Office; and all were made to furnish agents of malice and cupidity. For example: An impudent beggar, once meeting a

* *A Discourse on the Calamities of Portugal, addressed to his Countrymen, and especially to His Most Faithful Majesty, Joseph, King of Portugal*, by the CHEVALIER DE OLIVEYRA. London, 1756.

merchant's clerk on an errand for his master, thrust a little waxen image of a saint into his face, that he might kiss it; for it was the custom of beggars to appeal to passengers in the name of saints, and offer them the images to kiss. The young man, being in haste, hurried on without paying attention to beggar or saint; and for this alleged contempt he was thrown into the Inquisition, (about the year 1750,) and kept there more than a year. He did not walk in the *Acto-de-Fé*, but underwent some secret penance, which they bound him by oath never to divulge. He did keep silence; but his emaciated frame and gloomy countenance plainly showed how severe it had been.

Bowing to the necessity that compelled obedience from all, the Kings of Portugal swore, at their coronation, to maintain the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, and this they were forced to do; but on various occasions the royal interposition on behalf of subjects under accusation was treated with contempt; and, once at least, insolent Inquisitors ransacked the King's palace in search of prohibited books.*

Amidst this insolence of power, their pride was humbled by one of the most awful visitations ever known in the history of the world. From the first day of November, 1755, to the seventeenth, the whole Peninsula was agitated by shocks of earthquake; but no city suffered so much as Lisbon. One long shock, lasting for about five minutes, buried more than ten thousand persons in the ruins. Terror seized on the survivors. The rabble, reckless of death, robbed the dying, broke into houses that were yet standing, although shaken, and committed every conceivable atrocity. From prisons, burst open or overthrown, the criminals escaped, and forthwith swelled the flood of crime. In far greater number, the prisoners of the Inquisition, while the hand of heaven was opening the cells, also made their escape. But although the build-

* *Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition.* London, 1761. Letter I.

ing was in ruins, the institution stood, and inquisitorial vengeance pursued the fugitives, and put many of them to death, on charge of having taken part in the robberies.

The intelligence of this calamity produced a profound impression in England. Every one who confessed belief in Providence spoke of it as a visitation of retributive justice. Whitefield wrote a letter "to the remaining disconsolate inhabitants of Lisbon," attributing the earthquake to the displeasure of Almighty God. Wesley pointed to the insatiable avarice of the King of Portugal, and to the Inquisition, as provocations to this judgment.

The Chevalier de Oliveyra, a Portuguese gentleman who had been convinced of the errors of Romanism, and consequently left his country, and had resided many years in England, no sooner heard of the event than he wrote an impassioned letter to his countrymen and his King, giving utterance to the same conviction. "Among the ruins of Lisbon," he says, "we reckon that of the Tribunal, or palace of the Inquisition. For many years you have cried up how very agreeable this Tribunal was to God, for the services they have done Him in supporting the faith, and promoting His glory. He has nevertheless destroyed that Holy Office. Dare you say that in this He has shown Himself ungrateful towards you? or, that He had not power sufficient to preserve His palace from destruction? But is it not very likely, on the contrary, that if He has reduced it to a heap of ruins, it is because He held it in abomination? and that, far from being affected by your false zeal, He truly detests and regards it as a barbarous fury, an infernal persecution; and, of consequence, a service unworthy of him, being diametrically opposite to what He requires from His servants? On a view, then, of the destruction of what you call the Holy Office, and for the reasons that I have alleged, can any one doubt that, in the sight of God, it is a diabolical Office, only fit to be engulfed in the dark abyss?"

Among the reasons assigned by Oliveyra, and by others also, there was one which they mark with so much emphasis and reiteration, that we can scarcely veil it here. "In the rigorous punishments you inflict for sorcery, bigamy, polygamy, blasphemy, and, in a word, all the sinful errors into which human frailty falls, ye have nevertheless taken great pains to use indulgence, and spare openly, all those who are capable of that abominable crime which formerly drew down the vengeance of the Lord on the cities of the plain; which He destroyed in a manner so terrible and surprising, that that example might remain as an eternal monument to posterity. Whence is this partiality, but that you are yourselves guilty of that crime which modesty forbids me to name? I could furnish you with many incontestable truths; but I shall content myself with reciting the above," drawn from Holy Scripture, "to the inhabitants of Lisbon who are yet living. Dread then, ye miserable frail mortals, dread the melancholy lot of the Plain. Ye have already experienced it in a great measure. So conduct yourselves henceforth that it may not return again amongst you, that ye be not totally consumed." Heresy, he reminds them, was to be punished with confiscation of goods, and infamy to rest on the descendants of the heretic, who is not suffered even to take asylum at the altar; while the *crimen nefandum* did not exclude the guilty from the benefit of sanctuary. The Aphorisms of Da Sousa also show that the property of such a criminal is guarded by a special provision in favour of his family. To the martyr of Christ, to the man who counts not his life dear to him, but lays it down for truth's sake, no such indulgence is afforded.

In view of those abominations, Oliveyra exhorted the King to declare the Inquisition extinct, and forbid the palace to be rebuilt, or any one to assume the title of Inquisitor again. But the exhortation was of no avail. On the 20th of January, 1756, the Chevalier sent presentation copies to King Joseph, through his

secretary of state, to the Queen, to the Prince Dom Manoel, and to the Royal Academy of Portugal. They were burnt at Lisbon by the common hangman, amidst the ruins of the city; and so far were the courtiers and ecclesiastics from acknowledging that tribunal to be accursed, that they claved to it as to a thing most sacred; and when, a few years afterwards, the Jesuits were very justly expelled out of the country, on account of political offences, it was alleged, as one of the chief misdoings of that Company, that they had advocated some relaxation of the rigour usually shown towards the Jews.

In Portugal, as for many centuries in England, the Jews were persecuted for the sake of their wealth rather than because of their unbelief, and the Inquisitors lent themselves to murder them in prospect of sharing the spoil. On their behalf Oliveyra remonstrates with the King. Of all the men in the world, he says, the Jews possess most perfect knowledge of the arts of commerce; but no sooner has a Jew acquired wealth than he is arrested and strangled by the Inquisition. Or if, having by hard study attained eminence as a physician, he cures the most dangerous and desperate diseases, the Inquisition loads him with irons, and lays him on the rack.

New Christians, too, even falsely accused of Judaising, were made the victims of cupidity or malice. Of a hundred persons thus accused, and delivered to the flames, Oliveyra says that scarcely two or three were condemned justly. Few, indeed, professed to die in the Law of Moses; and almost all declared themselves Christians to the last, and protested that they had always lived in the religion of Christ, not knowing any other. In vain they confessed themselves after the Romish manner. In vain they invoked the names of Mary and of the saints, and in those names, and the name of the Saviour, prayed for mercy. The Inquisitors had given sentence, and that sentence was irrevocable. The cruelty was the more flagrant towards

those who had been forced by the Inquisition to profess themselves converts from Judaism, and were then persecuted on accusation of wishing to return to Judaism again. Many New Christians, who had scarcely ever heard the name of Moses, and did not so much as know that there was an Old Testament, were charged with Judaizing; or, fearing that snare, fled the country. Neither had they been taught the truths or the obligations of Christianity. They were to be seen in strange countries, wandering vagabonds, scarcely able to beg their bread, so ignorant were they of the languages to be spoken, outcast and starving. Many again, being of native Portuguese extraction, and having no sympathy whatever with Jew or neophyte, were arrested on a pretended suspicion of Judaizing, than which nothing could be further from their thoughts; and when it was observed that the Inquisition was torturing and burning such persons, the rumour would arise that the Inquisitors themselves were Jews in secret, and the suspicion that they were now avenging on these Old Christians the massacres of Jews in times past, by those who bore the Christian name.

We remember that the Jesuits were supposed to have introduced the Inquisition into the country, and that the false Nuncio of Portugal was reputed to be a creature of theirs. If that were proved, there would then be a strong presumption that the retributive providence of God had taken that Society in the very snare they laid for Portugal; for when, three years after the earthquake, the Jesuits were expelled, the Inquisition took a very active part in their expulsion. From the press of the Holy Office in Lisbon, Dom Jozé, Inquisitor-General, issued a mandate, condemnatory of "the wicked and seditious errors of the Jesuits." Their doctrine, he stated, was comprehended in three principles, each leading to the most fatal consequences. They were these:—

"1. That it is lawful to calumniate any person

whatever, to bring false witnesses against him, to lay crimes falsely to his charge, either in public writing or by word of mouth, in order to take vengeance for injuries received, or for the calumniator to defend his own innocence and honour.

"2. That it is lawful for any one to kill, of his own authority, the person who has grievously injured or slandered him : that it is lawful to kill a false accuser or false witness, and even the judge who gives reason to fear any grave damage on his part, if that damage be unjust and inevitable, and there be no other way of avoiding it.

"3. That it is no sin to lie, or to swear falsely, making use of ambiguities, equivocations, or mental reservations, if this be necessary to save one's life, honour, or property, from considerable damage."*

And wherein do these principles differ from those of Eymeric and Peña? The *first* is the very soul of inquisitorial practice. The *second* is exemplified in all the history of the Holy Office. The *third* is almost an exact summary of the instructions given to Inquisitors for extorting false evidence, and taking the life of the innocent. But that mattered not. An Inquisitor was a very fit person to catch a Jesuit; and therefore, when the Jesuits were to be caught, and sent away for their crimes, the Inquisitors, as best acquainted with their arts, were employed to render assistance in the service.

A signal instance of political vengeance, executed by means of the Inquisition, occurred in the case of an aged Jesuit, *Gabriel Malagrida*, who had been imprisoned on a charge of treason, and remained in custody after the expulsion of his brethren. I shall describe this case briefly, almost in the language of Da Sylva, which the reader will be pleased to observe, and take the epithets as his, not mine.

* *Recueil des Décrets Apostoliques et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal concernant la Conduite des Jésuites dans le Paraguay*, etc. Amsterdam, 1761. Piece xxvii.

“This monster,” Saint Gabriel Malagrida, employed himself, while in prison, in writing, with his own hand, two abominable books, which brought him to the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to which it belonged to examine all propositions contrary to faith and to religion. After a searching examination of his books and of himself, the guardians of the faith convicted Malagrida of having persuaded people to regard him as a saint and true prophet. They found that, not content with deceiving the people of that kingdom with his honey of hypocrisy, he had scattered abroad the most fearful poison, of which his heart was full, to foment discords and seditions, and to prophecy evil; at the same time contriving plots for the fulfilment of his own predictions. He furthermore wrote a book, and even at the table of the Holy Office persisted in defending it, affirming that its contents were dictated by God our Lord, by the most holy Mary our Lady, and by saints and angels of heaven, who conversed with him. The titles of two books, exhibited on that occasion, were such as would have gained him great admiration, if he had written on behalf of the priesthood. One was called, “The heroic and admirable Life of the Glorious Saint Anna, Mother of the Most Holy Mary, dictated by the Saint herself, with the Assistance, Approbation, and Presence of the Most Sovereign Lady herself, and her Most Holy Son.” This was in Portuguese. The other, in Latin, was “A Treatise on the Life and Empire of Antichrist.”

Even allowing for the exaggeration and perversion of the sayings of a culprit, which are usual in the hall of an Inquisition, it seems evident that this man was either insane, or that he pretended insanity. Instead of answering their questions, he amazed his judges by a long recitation of audible revelations, and tales of supernatural visions. The Virgin Mary, he said, absolved him daily in a particular form of words, and empowered him to predict the death of the King

within two months, and to denounce heavy calamities on the nation.

In presence of the foreign ministers at the Court of Lisbon, all the high functionaries of State, and the nobility of the kingdom, he was declared an impenitent heretic, expelled from the Church, and delivered over to the King's officers of justice to be punished. He was forthwith burnt to death, on the 21st day of September, 1761 ; * and thus the Inquisition triumphed over the Jesuits.

The Inquisition of Portugal continued, and survived the revolutionary period of the latter years of the last century, and the first fourteen years of the present ; but it fell in 1821, amidst the renewed struggles for civil liberty on the Peninsula. The letter of the Portuguese Constitution, then framed, seemed to promise religious liberty also, guaranteeing freedom of worship to foreigners, and, by fair construction, leaving the Portuguese free to accept the Gospel of their own accord ; but little advantage was taken of that liberty. In Madeira, however, an active persecution of Dr. Kalley, and of the natives converted by his means, demonstrated that, although the external form of the Inquisition had fallen, the spirit thereof survived ; and it soon became evident, both in Spain and Portugal, that if both its form and its name were not soon restored, it would not be for want of inclination in the Church of Rome.

Accordingly, an opportunity occurred in due time. The Portuguese lawyers were employed to construct a new penal code ; and a royal decree of December 22nd, 1852, established that code in anticipation of the legislature. The code of 1852 advanced nothing on the charter of 1826. It fills a thick octavo volume, and the following is a literal translation of two articles on religious offences :—

“ Art. 130. He who fails in respect to the religion of this kingdom—the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic

* Da Sylva. Parte i., divis. 15.

—shall be condemned to *imprisonment from one to three years*, with a *fine* proportioned to his income, in every one of the following cases:—

“1. Injuring (or insulting) the said religion publicly, in any dogma, act, or object of its worship, by deeds, or words, or publications, in any form.

“2. Attempting, by the same means, to propagate doctrines contrary to the Catholic dogmas confirmed by the Church.

“3. Attempting, by any means, to make proselytes or conversions to a different religion, or sect, *condemned by the Church.*” (As all truly Christian denominations are.)

“4. Celebrating public acts of worship, other than the worship of the said Catholic religion.

“Art. 135. Every Portuguese who, professing the religion of the kingdom, shall fail in respect to the same religion, by apostatizing, or renouncing it publicly, shall be *condemned to the loss of his political rights.*

“1. If the criminal be a clerk in holy orders, he shall be banished out of the kingdom for ever.

“2. These penalties shall cease as soon as the criminals return to the bosom of the Church.

“If the guilty person, under Article 130, be a foreigner,” (an Englishman, for example, to whom a very recent treaty between the Queen of Great Britain and the Queen of Portugal guarantees perfect liberty of worship,) “*the punishment*, instead of fine and imprisonment, shall be *expulsion from the kingdom.*” For the administration of these Articles, ecclesiastical courts are provided, in pursuance of a Concordat between the Pope and the Queen.

The ecclesiastical courts were meant to be equivalent with the Tribunals of the Faith in Spain, which are now extinct, Spain having the liberty which is not yet enjoyed in Portugal.

So late as this year, 1873, a document, written and printed in Lisbon, contains a statement that in 1870

João José da Costa Almeida, formerly a Chaplain in the Portuguese Navy, and, in 1871, Henrique Ribeiro d'Albuquerque, also a Romish priest, renounced the communion of the Church of Rome, and were received into the Spanish Evangelical Church, under the pastorate of Don Angel Herreros de Mora, whose deliverance from the Tribunal of the Faith at Madrid, in 1856, I have narrated in a preceding chapter. But it is added that they were both obliged to be naturalised as Spaniards previous to their public recantation, as the law there severely punishes any priest, if a Portuguese subject, who leaves Popery."*

* Report of the Spanish Evangelical Church at Lisbon, 1868—1872.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INDIA.

FIRST INQUISITION.

HEROIC perseverance in the pursuit of a great object is nowhere exhibited more brilliantly than in the history of the first Indian missions of the Jesuits. This, however, is not the place to characterise, much less to describe, the labours of the Propaganda. Our present business is to trace the introduction of the Inquisition into India, and its progress there.

Many English Protestants, in their exuberant charity, would scarcely believe that the earliest recorded indications of an Inquisition in India are from the pen of the saintly Jesuit, Francisco Xavier, a man who has been most unreasonably held up as a model for the imitation of our Missionaries.

Bouhours, the French biographer of Xavier, relates that on December 16th, 1544, he met with a priest, Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of the Indies, in Cochin. To him he suggested, and with him concerted, a plot for displacing Affonso da Sousa, the Viceroy, who would not support his enterprises with armed force to the extent that he desired. The Vicar-General embarked forthwith for Lisbon, bearing a long and earnest secret letter from "the Saint" to John III. of Portugal, imploring him to recall Da Sousa, his own friend and patron, and the following extract probably contains the first formal request for "the horrible tribunal." Mark it well:—

"O my Lord, by your burning zeal for the Divine glory, by the care you have of rendering to God an account of your conduct and of keeping your

conscience clear, I beseech and conjure Your Majesty to send out a suitable servant, *armed with necessary authority, whose only care it shall be to see to the salvation of the innumerable souls that are here perishing ; and who in that post shall have a power unlimited by the authority and government of those whom you command to oversee your revenue and your affairs ;* that thus, for the future, those many and grave inconveniences and scandals may be avoided, from which formerly the affairs of religion here were free." *

Affonso da Sousa himself says that Francisco Xavier, in a letter to John III. of Portugal, dated November 10th, 1545, stated that "Jewish perfidy was daily spreading in those countries of Eastern India that were subject to Portugal, and earnestly prayed the King to send the office of the Inquisition into that country, as the remedy of so great a perfidy." This was following up the previous application. His Majesty, however, did not comply with the request, nor was it carried into effect until fifteen years later, when, as Da Sousa further states, the Cardinal Henry, at that time Inquisitor-General in the kingdom of Portugal, erected a tribunal of the Inquisition in Goa, and sent thither the necessary Inquisitors, officers, and servants. The first Inquisitor was Alexo Diaz Fulcano, sent over from Lisbon in 1560. But it is not likely that the establishment of such an institution in India would have taken place on the suggestion or the request of any one person ; and we cannot better give an exact view of its origin and progress, than by marking events as they occurred.

First: there was a bishopric at Goa, established there, as was usual in all new colonies, when that part of the coast fell into possession of the Portuguese, in 1510.

Then followed an application of all the accustomed methods of conversion, under the terror of a strong

* This letter may be found in Turselin's *Sancti Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor*. Lugduni, 1682.

garrison. Favours and honours were lavished upon the first converts; while the Viceroy and highest functionaries stood sponsors for proselytes at baptism.

The accession of proselytes, along the eastern coast of India more particularly, and some consolidation of military and civil power, indicated that the time was come for an enlargement of the ecclesiastical platform; but there was still some delay, until more vigorous measures could be taken to sustain a complete hierarchy. The conversion of Gentile Malays was therefore the object chiefly pursued for some years. Adults were persuaded, or intimidated; but children were stolen, baptised, brought up in the Jesuits' houses, and in due time employed to bring in fresh recruits. They were often paraded through the streets, singing catechism; and every child that could be decoyed to join the processions was taken up by the Jesuits and baptised. A great number of these forcible baptisms were effected in the year 1557, in spite of the resistance of their parents.*

The flock being multiplied, and somewhat disciplined into subjection, the Bishop of Goa was promoted to be Metropolitan; and two new Bishops were sent out to take possession of the dioceses of Malacca and Cochin, created for them in advance. This was done in 1559. And as the introduction of a new Romish hierarchy into any country is sure to be followed by correspondent manifestations of authority, the very next year that establishment was followed by the introduction of the "Holy Inquisition."

The Inquisitors were already there, preparing and waiting for favourable opportunities to act, and Melchior Carneiro, Bishop-designate of Cochin, was in the mountains of Malabar, on a mission to the Nestorian Christians.

Those Christians had been for many centuries in communion with the see of Babylon, or Mosul, and

* *Parentibus quanquam invitis ac renitentibus.* (ACOSTÆ *Hist. Rerum in Oriente gestarum.* Parisiis, 1572. Fol. 14)

traced a succession of bishops back to the apostolic age. They were not clear of some corruptions that had overspread Christendom, but had none of the characteristics of Popery; and although reproached on account of the heresy of Nestorius, whose followers certainly did not entertain a sufficiently exalted view of the person of the incarnate Saviour, they had received from Nestorius a doctrine in other particulars far superior to that of Rome. Their clergy were married; they knew of but two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist; they did not pray to saints, nor worship images; they knew nothing of auricular confession; they had not heard of purgatory or transubstantiation. They only acknowledged two sacred orders, Presbyterate* and Diaconate; although a member of the former had always taken the oversight of his brethren within a diocese, and borne the title of Vicar.† These Vicars were associated under a Metropolitan, whom they represented, and who acknowledged the yet superior authority of the Patriarch of Babylon. In their worship, they had used ancient Syriac Liturgies. Of Pope and Mass they had not heard until after the Portuguese invasion of their country; and, to express their abhorrence of idolatry, they shut their eyes when an image or a consecrated wafer was produced.

Carneiro signalised himself by making an assault on that communion. He took possession of one of their churches, and kept it for two months under Portuguese authority. With extreme difficulty he collected hearers, and that only by making the most of

* The Syriac name קַשִּׁיטָא—*presbyterate*, not *sacerdotate*, or sacrificing priesthood—agrees well with the style of the New Testament. A Presbyter in *order* is Bishop by *office*.

† Here is a question of a word. Dr. Buchanan so understood, and so reported; but the Arabic and Syriac authorities quoted by Asseman (*Bibl. Oriental.*, tom. iii. pars 2) do not confirm this report, but give the title of Bishop, and, what is much more, minutely describe the *office*. The title is commonly used, and could not be relinquished without a disregard of original authorities.

his position and husbanding his means. The people generally fled from him; but he succeeded in performing a ceremony of anabaptism on a few, telling them that the baptism they had received in the Syrian Church was no sacrament; and he bound his proselytes to *swear submission* to the Pope of Rome. The Indian Metropolitan concealed himself among the fugitives of his flock, wisely refusing to go down to the coast to hold a disputation with Carneiro. Carneiro, bent on the destruction of the Metropolitan, pursued him into a neighbouring kingdom, and strove to induce the King, or Chief, to put him to death, as a propagator of error and a disturber of peace. In this the Bishop of Cochin failed; but notwithstanding the provocation he had given to the native Christians, he returned to his new-made See without suffering the least violence. But in Cochin, if his own report be true, an arrow struck off his hat; and a note, supposed to be written by some native Christian, and containing expressions of disrespect concerning Gonsalvo, chief of the Jesuits at Goa, with blasphemies against our Lord Jesus Christ, was found in a charity-box in the principal church. That any Syrian Christian who could write should blaspheme the Saviour whom he acknowledged and worshipped—although he might speak disrespectfully enough of the Jesuits, whom he hated—is not very probable; but such a note was exhibited by the priests, to show that while the arrow gave reason to suspect a murderous intention, the paper bore evidence of heresy. Either Carneiro or Gonsalvo might have written it.

“That thing,” says Sacchini, “admonished the fathers that they should see more diligent inquest made concerning the faith of certain men. And behold! a vast number of false brethren of the circumcision are discovered. These men, fugitives from various regions of the world, had found means of concealment in India, and, while bearing the name of Christians, secretly practised the rites of Judaism, and propagated

the same by stealth." Perhaps the truth may be that some New Christians, having fled from Europe on account of persecution, were endeavouring to get rid of the spurious Christianity which had been forced upon them in Europe. It is not incredible that they would be sometimes overtaken in uniting with the natives to resist the oppression of Portuguese governors, or to counteract the schemes of Jesuits. Be that as it may, they not only suffered the persecution which ordinarily fell upon their brethren in every land, but they also served in India as the cover for an attack upon the native Christians. "Therefore," according to Sacchini, "if ever the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was necessary, the fathers (Jesuits) considered that it was necessary at that time, both because of the licentiousness prevalent, and the medley of all nations and superstitions; and therefore sent urgent letters both to Portugal and Italy, and made representations to those in the country to whom pertained such care, which clearly demonstrated that in order to preserve that fortress in faith incorrupt, the tribunal should be established in Goa."* And a very short time afterwards, in the year 1560, it began its operations there.

There can be no doubt that the first proceedings were sufficiently terrific. The "vast number of false brethren" that were detected, or of others that were taken for such, did not go unpunished. The Inquisitors of Goa would not be less active than their brethren in Portugal, and their victims would be so much the more easily disposed of, as no way of appeal to any protecting power ordinarily lay open to them. From slaughtering Jewish Christians the "sacred searchers of the faith" proceeded to their chief work of overthrowing the ancient Syrian Church. Seven years after the erection of the tribunal in Goa, Mar Joseph, Syrian Bishop of Cochin, in consequence of a rescript from Pius V. to Cardinal Henry of Portugal, autho-

* SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, pars secunda, lib. i., pp. 150, 151.

rising the Indian Inquisition to prosecute him, stood at its table, was declared guilty of the Nestorian heresy, sent prisoner to Lisbon, and thence, in the year following, to Rome, where he died quickly.

Burnings were common at that time. General baptisms were celebrated with great pomp at Goa, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India, and so were general Acts of Faith. It was deemed an equal mark of affection towards the Jesuits to attend either. One Sebastian Fernando, writing to his General at Rome (November, 1569), applauds the charity of his brethren, who attended persons condemned by the sacred Inquisitors on account of depraved religion, not quitting them from the moment of sentence until the flames rose round them at the stake.* Then, of course, they decorously withdrew. Such Nestorians as would not go to mass, and keep their eyes open at the elevation, or who showed any disaffection to Rome, were burnt alive for the edification of the public of India.

Nestorian bishops and priests continually disappeared, either immured in Goa, or shipped away to Italy or Portugal. Now and then a name transpired. *Simeon*, a bishop in the Church at Malabar, was seized, sent to Rome, and graciously permitted to breathe within the walls of a convent of Friars Minors, in Portugal, until, in the year 1559, *he perished*,—PERIT.† For with this significant word a learned monk closed his brief notice of Simeon. It is the euphemism commonly used at Rome to signify the death of a heretic by violence. From another source‡ we hear that Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, gained possession of an intercepted letter of Simeon's, containing Nestorian errors; that he sent the letter to the chief Inquisitor in Lisbon, and that from that time forth no more was heard of Mar Simeon. Hence

* *De Rebus Indicis Epist. Liber.* Parisiis, 1572.

† *Asseman. Dissert. de Syriis Nestorianis*, p. 447.

‡ La Croze, *Hist. du Christ. des Indes*, livre i.

it may be fairly presumed that he was conveyed to the prison of the Inquisition; and then, as one relapsed into heresy, he would be given over to the secular arm, or would *perish* in secret.

The same Archbishop, Aleixo de Menezes, held a Diocesan Synod at Diamper, in Cochin, on the 20th of June, 1599, and six days following. In that Synod a large number of Syrian priests were present, not by free choice, but by the pressure of Portuguese influence; and were induced, although in the territory of a pagan sovereign, to subscribe the following extraordinary decree, previously written, with the other acts, by himself and a Jesuit, in Portuguese, for signature by those poor Malays:—"All the priests and faithful people of this bishopric, in Synod assembled, submit themselves, with much respect and obedience, to the holy, righteous, just, and necessary tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in these parts, acknowledging how the said tribunal contributes to the purity of the faith. They swear and promise obedience to its commands. They desire to be judged according to its laws in matters of faith; and they beseech the Inquisitors to appoint in their place, on account of the distance," (the distance of Goa from the diocese of Cochin), "the reverend Jesuit fathers of the college of Vaipicota, or some other learned persons from the number of those who reside in this diocese." *

All authentic history of this part of India contradicts the statements of the Diamper Synod. The few priests who were persuaded to join the Church of Rome did so with reluctance, and not without reservation; and the majority, both of clergy and laity, regarded the usurpers with abhorrence. Above all things, the Inquisition was hateful to them; and when the books containing the ancient Syriac Liturgies were burnt, and the use of those Liturgies forbidden, under peril of excommunication, which was equivalent

* Sess. iii., Act. 22.

with death, they conceived a profound indignation, which every successive provocation deepened, until they desperately broke off the yoke.

The bitterness of Roman orthodoxy was not concealed in a profession of faith drawn up under the authority of Clement VIII. for subscription by the Orientals who came into the unity of the Roman Church.* The convert was required to sign his name twice; once to the Creed, and once again to a promise to maintain it. He was made to reprobate and curse utterly all heretics, and all who believed or taught heretically. They compelled him to declare that no man dying outside the Church of Rome could be a partaker of eternal life, and to promise that he would enforce the same faith on all persons under his authority. Going far beyond the limits of even Roman orthodoxy as then established, the Creed for Orientals anticipated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, lately published by authority (in 1854,) and pronounced that our Lord became incarnate "*in the immaculate womb* of the most Blessed Mary, ever virgin." And, as if Clement VIII. had resolved to distinguish his pontificate by some record of complete impiety, the convert was required to abjure *the Sabbath*, together with circumcision and the distinction of meats; a contrivance doubtless intended to provide the Inquisitors in India, as in Spain, with occasions for testing the religion of persons suspected to be of Jewish extraction. Moreover, by annihilating the Sabbath in India, and not noticing the Lord's Day, those keepers of the faith no doubt calculated that they should succeed in diverting from those lands the religious knowledge, the sanctity, and the blessedness that always, in some degree, distinguish Sabbath-keeping nations, and constitute a strong barrier against the delusions and vices of Popery.

* *Brevis orthodoxæ fidei professio, quæ ex præscripto Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ ab Orientalibus ad sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ unitatem venientibus facienda proponitur. Romæ, 1595.*

Long did those Christians refuse obedience to the Roman Pontiff, but they were lashed into submission; and, after wearisome and humiliating negotiations, a Synod being convened at Amida, a sort of union was effected. Once, during the correspondence, their Patriarch Elijah ventured to address Paul V. in such words as these: "We beseech you to send us good letters, in consideration of our profession" of obedience to the Papal See, "to show on our arrival in India," (whither Elijah was going, in the new character of one holding authority from the Pope); "because, in Ormus and in Goa, and beyond, the Inquisitors of the Faith sorely trouble us. For the men of our country are not at all learned; and therefore they trouble us exceedingly, or else take money from us, and then let us go. One priest of Amida has died in consequence of what they have done to him" (A.D. 1616). But it does not appear that Paul V. condescended to lay any restraint on the Inquisitors, who went on their way, killing some, and ruining others by fines and confiscations, until one too hasty step provoked the people of Malabar to snap their fetters.

It is worth noting that Cardinal Bellarmine, that specious Jesuit whom it was fashionable for courtiers around the throne of our James I. to regard as a paragon of sanctity, and some of whose writings found clerical translators in England, was the man who acquired merit at Rome by leading the inquisitorial persecution of the Nestorians. One of his biographers* boasts that it was he that saw and discovered the Patriarch Elijah, of Babylon (A.D. 1610), to be a Nestorian, who, masked as a Catholic, sent his profession of faith to Paul V. under malicious terms. It was he, too, who took the part of Farinacci, when his "most useful book," *De Hæresi*, was assailed. Bellarmine spent a month in reviewing the work, gave it his approbation, and sent it forth improved.

* *Vita del R. Card. Bellarmino* dal P. FRANCESCO MARAZZANI, cap. xi.

Having failed to obtain any concession from Rome in favour of their ancient Syrian ritual, the Malabar Christians seceded from communion with Francisco García, the Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore, and applied to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, or the Jacobite at Damascus, for another in his place. One was sent to them named Atahalla; but the Inquisitors seized him in Meliapore (St. Thomas), took him to Goa, and there he perished in their hands, after having graced their last forlorn triumph over the Syrian Church by walking in an *Acto-de-Fé*, at the end of which they burnt him in the usual manner. Meetings were held by the Syrian clergy in the diocese of Cochin, and, at length, a Nestorian bishop was ordained in the year 1653.

CHAPTER XXX.

INDIA AND CHINA.

CONFLICT OF PARTIES IN THE FAR EAST.

BETWEEN the Inquisition and the Jesuits there were frequent conflicts. The reckless barbarism of elder birth and the refined cunning of the later sect could not be harmonised, yet both were devoted to the same object, the defence and extension of the Papacy. The Pope, as common father, was often appealed to for the settlement of their difficulties, and did his best to promote the interests of both.

In India and China the two corporations could the less easily agree, because their action was entirely different. The Jesuits thought it expedient to pursue a policy of extreme concession, surrendering the distinctive truths of Christianity, and keeping out of sight even the discipline and ritual of their own Church, if thereby they could win over the heathens to their side, rather than lead them to Christ. The Inquisitors, on the other hand, pretended perfect orthodoxy, assumed an air of intense anxiety to preserve the integrity of Romish faith, and, so far as the power of Portugal extended and they could avail themselves of military force, they had the power of life and death in their hands, and could impress the natives with dread, and overawe their own clergy too. Hence it came to pass that not only the Jesuits, but the Bishops and the priests regarded them with dread and jealousy, and appealed to Rome against their violence.

The Inquisitors, both at home and abroad, never showed more arrogance than about the year 1610, when Cardinal Bellarmine was in the height of power

in Rome, and the Inquisitors and Jesuits, at that time less disunited than usual in Europe, were at hot war in India. Just then the Cardinals, elate with hope of recovering from the East what they had lost at home, were ready to make every possible concession, on the newly-occupied missionary fields, that might lead to an ingathering of proselytes to the Church. So, in a General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, held in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, on the 26th March, 1611, in presence of Pope Paul V. and the most reverend Roman Cardinals, Inquisitors-General against heretical pravity, His Holiness conceded to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in China, and to other Catholic priests:—

1. That in the celebration of the Mass, they might have their heads covered, it being a sign of irreverence in China to uncover the head; but they were not to wear a common hat or cap, but either a cap provided for the occasion, of the same colour as the furniture of the altar, or such a cap as was usually worn by preachers in the pulpit.

2. His Holiness also permitted the said Fathers to translate the Bible into Chinese, not, indeed, common Chinese, but the dialect used by literary men; and he also permitted the divine offices of Mass and Canonical Hours to be translated into the same dialect.

3. He further permitted the Sacraments to be administered, and other services of the Church to be performed in the same language, provided the officiating ministers were lawfully promoted to holy orders, and conformed to the sacred rite of the Roman Church.*

As the Chinese Mission advanced, questions mul-

* *Constitutiones Apostolicæ, Brevia, Decreta, &c., pro Missionibus Sinarum, Tunquini, &c., ad usum R.R.D.D. Episcoporum, Sacerdotumque à Summis Pontificibus ab Eminentissimis D.D. Cardinalibus S. Congregationis de propaganda Fide respective in Orientem missorum.* Parisiis, MDCLXXVI. cum privilegio Regis. Pars secunda, pagina 51.

tiplied, and (A.D. 1645) after discussion in the Congregation *de propagandâ Fide*, a second and much larger inquiry was opened in the Holy Office, whereby that Congregation was made the seat of judgment for China and the whole eastern world, and had the fullest opportunity for letting mankind know to what extent they would maintain the unity of the faith, and by what principle they would be guided in attempting the conservation of that faith. The Qualificators reported, and the Fathers of the Holy Office adopted their judgment to the effect following:—

Question. “Whether the Chinese Christians were bound to observe the positive law as to fasts, confessing once in the year, communicating, observing the festivals in the same manner as the Indians in New Spain and in the Philippine Islands were bound to do, by the direction of Pope Paul III. for the East and West Indies.”

Answer. The positive ecclesiastical law concerning fasts is absolutely binding on the Chinese Christians, and this should be clearly made known to them by the Missioners. But considering the difference of countries, and the quality of persons, there is room for dispensation, if His Holiness pleases, and as Paul III. granted to the Indians. This indulgence being obtained, the Missioners of Holy Mother Church would endeavour to shew pity to those for whom the Pope had made the law, by kindly remitting a great part of it. The Chinese were certainly under obligation to confess once in the year, and the Missioners ought to inform them accordingly. Holy Communion, too, should be administered to them once in the year, but with some choice of time convenient. All the Festivals ought to be observed by the Chinese converts, but, by the Pope’s leave, the number of Feast-days might be reduced.

Q. “Whether ministers of the Gospel in the aforesaid kingdom might for the present, at least, abstain from putting upon women the holy oil of catechumens,

and from putting spittle in their ears, or salt in their mouths; and also whether they might abstain from administering the sacrament of Extreme Unction to those women. The reason of doubt on these matters was that the Chinese are very jealous of their wives, and daughters, and other women, and are scandalised by actions of the kind."

A. The sacramental rites should all be observed in baptising women, and Extreme Unction must be administered to them, notwithstanding the doubt which was expressed, but care should be taken to introduce such rites and ceremonies, and to administer them with such circumspection that the men would have no reason to suspect any impropriety on part of the priests.

Q. "It is established by Law in China that thirty per cent. interest is charged on money borrowed, without consideration of the wealth of the lender, or the injury of the borrower. The question was whether it is lawful for the Chinese to receive 130 for 100 of their money, even if there were no gain by lending nor any loss in borrowing. The reason for doubt was that (on these terms) there was some danger in recovering the loan, for the borrower might either abscond or delay repayment, or would have to be prosecuted, and so forth."

A. The Qualificators thought there ought to be very small interest on temporary loans, and for the rest, the customary conditions might be lowered.

Other questions concerning usury were put and answered. But what had the Society of the Propaganda or the Holy Office to do with monetary regulations in China?

Q. "It was customary in the towns and cities of China to impose certain contributions on the inhabitants to defray the cost of sacrifices in the idol-temples of their demons, and for invitations and feastings in those temples in the Festival of the New Year, at other festivities, and at times indifferent, for the sake

of entertaining the people. The question was whether it was lawful for Christians and their ministers, from whom, as from other inhabitants, these contributions were required, to give any thing for purposes of the kind ; but if Christians were not to contribute, there would be more tumult raised against the Christians among the Heathens."

A. The Fathers thought that Chinese Christians might contribute their money, so long as the money was not intended to be given for countenancing the acts of Idolatry, especially if they protested beforehand, if that were practicable, that they gave the required contribution only for the entertainment of the people, and for acts indifferent, or at least for whatever was not repugnant to the religion and worship of Christians.

Q. "In all the cities and towns of that kingdom there were temples erected to a certain idol, called *Chin Hoang*, which the Chinese regard as Protector, Ruler, and Guardian of the place, and by an established law of the kingdom, all the governors, who are called Mandarins, were required, on taking possession of their office, and twice every month in the course of the year, under penalty of deprivation of the office, to go into the said temples, and there to go down upon their bended knees, and striking the ground with their head, adore and venerate that idol, offer candles, perfumes, flowers, meat, and wine in sacrifice ; and when they took possession of their office, to swear before the said idol that they would administer aright, and if they did the contrary, would submit to the punishment inflicted by the idol, and at the same time they asked of it to teach them how to govern well, and did other things of the same kind.

"They asked whether, considering the weakness of that people, Christian Governors might, for the present, be allowed to carry a kind of cross (*quandam crucem*) which they might place out of sight on the altar of the idol, among flowers, or have in their

hands concealed, and without any intention of worshipping the idol, but the cross, might make those genuflexions, reverences and adorations before that altar, but only outwardly, and feignedly, directing all worship inwardly and in heart, towards the cross, because, if governors of this kind were compelled to refuse this kind of worship, they would rather apostatise from the Faith than lose their places."

A. They were answered that Christians could never be allowed to perform public acts of this kind, with mere pretence of rendering worship or reverence to an idol, or under pretext or intention of reverencing a cross held in the hand, or concealed under flowers on the altar.

Q. "The Chinese have a certain literary man, Master in moral philosophy, long ago (*olim*) departed this life, called *Cung-Fû-Cû*, who for learning, rules, and writing, is so much admired in all the kingdom, that people of all ranks, from kings downward, propose him to themselves for imitation, follow him, venerate and praise him as a speculative and holy man. In every city and town temples are erected to this Master. But Governors are bound to offer solemn sacrifice in his temple twice in the year, themselves performing the service of priest; and without solemnity, twice every month in the year, some of the literary men assemble together with him for the administration of the things which are offered in a sacrifice of the kind; namely, one entire dead sow, one whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, perfumes. So all the literary men, when they take a degree, must go into the temple of that Master, make their genuflexions, and offer candles and perfumes before his altar. All this worship, sacrifice and reverence, according to the formal intention of all that people, is rendered in thanksgiving for the evidences which remain of his good teaching, and that they may obtain from him, and for the sake of his merits, the happiness of an excellent genius, wisdom and understanding.

“They asked whether Governors who were, or had been Christians, and literary men, might be called and compelled to enter the aforesaid temple, to make a sacrifice of the kind, or to assist at sacrifices of the kind, or make genuflexions before it, or accept any of the meats offered to idols, and partake of those oblations, especially because those infidels think that whoever eats of those idol-meats will make great progress in letters and in degrees; and if carrying the cross in their hands, they may lawfully do this in the way already expressed above; because, if they were forbidden to do this, there would be a tumult among the people, Ministers of the Gospel would be sent away into exile, and the conversion of souls would be hindered and extinguished.”

A. The Fathers agreed that this would not be lawful, and must not be allowed to the Christians on any account whatever.

Q. “There was a custom of inviolable observance with the Chinese, like the doctrine delivered by the abovesaid master *Cung-Fû-Cû*, that in all the towns of China they had temples dedicated to their deceased ancestors, and in each of them all who were of his family assembled twice in the year that they might make solemn sacrifices, with a great display of ceremonies; and on an altar adorned with many candles, flowers and perfumes, set up an image or portrait of the deceased father or grandfather, in which sacrifice one of them performs the office of priest and minister, and they offer flesh, wine, candles, perfumes, and goats’ heads. The common intention of this sacrifice, with those people, was to render thanks to their forefathers, pay honour and reverence for the benefits they had received from them, and for what they hoped to receive. Therefore they prostrated themselves before the altar and made many deprecations, praying for health, long life, abundance of fruits, multiplication of children, great prosperity, and deliverance from all adversaries. The same sacrifice was also offered in

their houses, and at the sepulchres of the dead, but with lesser ceremony.

“They asked whether Christians, feignedly, and only in outward appearance, as said before, might be present at a sacrifice of the kind, or exercise any ministry in it, mingled with the infidels, either in the temple, or the house, or the sepulchre, publicly or privately, or if in any manner this could be permitted to those Christians; lest, if it were absolutely forbidden them, they should lose their faith, or, to speak more correctly, withdraw themselves from the outward acts of Christians.”

A. The Inquisitors entirely objected to any participation, however disguised, in any such ceremonies.

Q. “The Chinese Christians asserted that in those oblations they only meant to exhibit such reverence to their deceased forefathers as they would render to them if they were still alive, and only in memory and reverence of progeniture and parentage, presenting such food to them as they would eat if they were living, without any other intention, or any hope of gifts in answer to prayer, as they knew them to be dead, and their souls buried out of sight.

“They asked whether this might be done among Christians only, without any association with heathens in temples, houses, or sepulchres, placing a cross on the altar of the deceased, directing their intention to it, yet so as to attribute to the image of their progenitor nothing more than the filial honour and reverence which they would show him if he were alive, by giving him such food, and refreshing him with such perfumes, and so satisfy the people. They asked whether this might now be allowed, in order to avoid inconveniences.”

A. After what had been already said the Qualifiers judged that the objections already given to such proposals could not be removed by the means suggested, nor any unlawful and superstitious actions be permitted in the worship of the true God.

Q. "In order to preserve the memory of their progenitors, the Chinese made use of certain tablets on which their names were written, which they called *the seats of souls*, believing that the souls of the deceased came and were present in those tablets to receive sacrifices and oblations. The said tablets were placed on their proper altars, with roses, candles, lamps, and odours; and before those altars they made genuflexions and prayers, expecting that help would be given by the departed in their necessities and labours. They asked whether it might be lawful for Christians, setting aside all Gentile superstitions and errors, to use, for the present, tablets of the kind, placing them on the same altar with the images of our Lord and the Saints, or in some other separate place with the ornaments above said, in order that they might satisfy the Gentiles, or make the same prayers and sacrifices with the same intention."

A. The Inquisitors persist in utterly rejecting such proposals.

Q. "When a Chinese died, whether he were Gentile or Christian, it was an inviolable custom to prepare a kind of altar in the house of the deceased, with his image, or tablet, as already described, with the usual ornaments, the dead body in its coffin being placed behind. All who came into the house to render their condolence, knelt before the altar and image of the deceased, striking the ground with their heads three or four times, having brought candles and perfumes with them to be consumed and burnt before the altar with the portrait of the deceased.

"Might Christians, and especially Ministers of the Gospel, for the sake of mutual benevolence and kindness, do the same, especially when the deceased had been principal persons in the town?"

A. The Fathers thought that if the table so prepared was no more than a table, not an altar true and proper, and if other things were equally confined within the limits of civil and political respect, it might be suffered.

Q. "It was asked whether ministers ought to declare, and openly and particularly teach catechumens prepared to receive baptism, that sacrifices and all the things specified above were unlawful, although the inconvenience should follow that the catechumens would desist from receiving baptism, and persecutions, death, or the exile of the Ministers of the Gospel would be the consequence."

A. "It was decided that Ministers of the Gospel were bound to teach that all sacrifices, except those offered to God only, are unlawful, that the worship of demons and idols was to be abandoned, and that everything relating to worship of the kind is false and repugnant to Christian faith. But they should descend to particulars so far only as the capacity of the catechumens would allow, or their ignorance require; considering other circumstances and customs, and the dangers to be apprehended."

After a question concerning the use of a Chinese word signifying *holy*, another on a point of ceremony, and another on prayer for the dead, the concluding inquiry was one of great importance.

Q. "Are we preachers of the Gospel bound in this kingdom to preach Christ crucified, and to show His most holy image, especially in our churches? The occasion of this doubt is that the Gentiles are scandalised with such preaching and exhibition, and judge it to be the greatest folly."

To this question the following answer was returned:—

A. "They," that is to say, the Inquisitors, "decided that for the sake of no prudence, nor under any pretext, should the doctrine of the Passion be deferred until after Baptism, but by all means taught before. But as to the actual preaching of Christ crucified, although Gospel ministers are not bound to it in every single Sermon, but must set forth the Word of God and the divine mysteries prudently and opportunely, and explain them according to the capacity of the

catechumens, they are not obliged to abstain from speaking of our Lord's passion in these sermons, because the Gentiles are offended with it, and think it foolishness. They also decided that it was right for images of Christ crucified to be had in the Churches, and that therefore care should be taken to place them there so far as practicable."

Decrees were issued by the Roman Congregation of the Universal Inquisition on matters of worship and of discipline from time to time, as well as on questions directly relating to the faith. The Pope constantly took the decision of that Congregation before giving his assent to any proposal, or answering to any question on appeal, thus placing the eastern Missions under the control of the Holy Office. On the same plan all Missions, all religious communities and all confraternities in world-wide Popedom were brought under the same searching oversight. Here ceased all hope of redress of wrongs committed by the remote tribunals, except, very rarely, for reconsideration of his own decisions by the Pontiff who had already sanctioned the very measure appealed against as grievous. He became, in effect, Chief Inquisitor, presiding over that Congregation in the supreme government of the Church. It is needless to multiply instances. They can be found with documentary evidences in the collection now quoted.

Next arose grave difficulties in India between the Inquisition and the Bishops and Missionary Clergy. There is no space here for a narrative of those affairs, but a sufficient notice of them may be supplied by an extract from a Brief of Pope Clement X.

"Dear children, Health in the Lord! As it has reached our ears, not without causing a feeling of profound grief, that the administrators of this Holy See in Eastern parts, sent hence by the same, have been ill received and sorely vexed by the tribunal of the Inquisition and its officials, we are extremely surprised. For while it is the only function of the most

Holy Inquisition to remove all impediments which might hinder the integrity, conservation, and propagation of the faith in the Church of God, it appears to us altogether foreign from the design of this tribunal to do that which your officials, and especially the Commissary of Siam, have perpetrated against the workmen, as aforesaid, of the Holy See, sent by the same into Eastern Asia for the propagation of the Catholic faith.

“For, as has been related to us, they have dared, without any competent authority, to proceed injuriously against our venerable brother Peter, Bishop of Beyrout, honoured with the office of Vicar Apostolic, by compelling him to exhibit his credentials, even after he refused to do so, as being immediately subject to the Holy See, and by declaring him not only a rebel against the most Holy Inquisition, but also a person suspected of unsound faith; and then by commanding all the faithful to abstain entirely from communication with him. I even hear that they refused, to hold any correspondence with him, or with the missionaries, and that they affixed a sentence to this effect to the church-doors, causing great scandal to all Christians, and grave detriment to the Christian faith. In consequence of this, another official of the Inquisition of Goa, resident in those parts, drove from his station a missionary, sent by the Holy See to labour at Cambay. He did this under a pretence of heresy, and commanded the missionary to be transported to the city of Macao; whence, after being ignominiously cast into prison by the Commissary of the same Inquisition, and kept there for five months, he was conveyed to the prisons of the Inquisition in Goa. The same thing had happened to another missionary some time before, to the great injury of Christians, who, being deprived of the help of missionaries, are left exposed to the incursions of the devil; and, no man helping them, they are abandoned to the guile of that most hateful enemy.

“And although no man can make us believe that these things were done at the command of that tribunal, we cannot suppose that the whole blame is to be laid on its inferior officers. We cannot suppose that you are yourselves to be altogether excused, seeing that you did not inflict any punishment on the Commissary of Siam for the injury done to the aforesaid Bishop of Beyrout; nor do we observe that any of the officers of your Inquisition who committed the offence were put out of office.

“Therefore, by virtue of the supreme power over His Church which our Lord Jesus Christ has committed unto us, in order that all hindrances to the propagation of the faith may be henceforth removed, we declare that all vicars apostolic and their missionaries, now sent, or hereafter to be sent, to China, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Siam, Camboya, and other places of the East, are to be altogether free from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa in those regions which are not under the temporal government of the King of Portugal. And we command you with apostolic authority that you entirely abstain from exercising against them any such acts, either by yourselves or by your inferior officers, under whatever pretext, colour, or privilege. Otherwise you will place yourselves in opposition to the will of this Holy See, with great discredit of your filial observance towards the same. Considering, however, your singular piety, we hold it for certain that no such thing can come to pass. To you, meanwhile, dear children, we paternally and freely impart the apostolic blessing.

“Given at Rome, at St. Mary's the Greater, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the tenth day of November, 1673, in the fourth year of our pontificate.”

Smoothly as the language of this document may sound, it betrays great displeasure; and the anger of the Roman Jesuits must have been intense on finding that their brethren, both in Europe and the East, like their father Ignatius before them, were subjected to

inquisitorial jurisdiction, and made to suffer the indignities of imprisonment and inquest. The Jesuit Vieyra, whom we saw imprisoned in Coimbra, and who made his way thence to Rome, was still at that Court, moving every spring whereby he could hope to humble the Inquisition. To Vieyra also the Pope had granted a Bull of exemption for life from the authority of the Inquisition of Portugal, and reserved him to be under his own peculiar care. The tribunal of Goa might almost be regarded as a branch of that of Portugal, inasmuch as the territory was now Portuguese, and the Inquisitors were all sent out at the expense of that country, and kept under the immediate protection of the King.

Under the same date, another Brief was executed for the Archbishop of Goa; or, in case of the see being found vacant, for the members of the chapter; reciting in general the same facts, and adding, as regarded the Archbishop, that he had forbidden all Christians to hold any communication with the Bishop of Beyrout, under a penalty of two hundred pieces of money, and under peril of excommunication also. So shattered was Catholic unity! So cold was apostolic charity in that branch of the Church of Rome! Twelve days after, Clement issued a third document—a constitution to be observed in Rome by all whom it might concern—bringing the missionaries under the sole authority of the Roman See.

This was as much as the priestly antagonists of the Inquisitors could wish; for whatever may have been the outrages of the Inquisition in India, the Pope and his Court would not on any account have it suppressed. Far from that, the fathers of the Holy Office were comforted with apostolic benediction, bidden, indeed, to keep their hands off the vicars apostolic and the missionaries, but left quite free to wash them daily in the blood of Nestorians, New Christians, and any Protestants who might stray into those regions. As for the Jesuits, every man of them had taught heresy enough, and

that a thousand times over, for him to be sent home in irons, and burnt at Lisbon in a slow fire. The Court of Rome well knew that they were not preaching in China anything like what Rome or any Church in Christendom would allow to be called Christianity; and the Sacred Congregation of the supreme and universal Roman Inquisition had but lately issued its last sentence in very feeble condemnation of the missionaries. They also knew full well that the only effect of their decision was, or would be—just as much as they had intended—to quiet the clamours of the Franciscans at home, and, for the moment perhaps, to shut the mouths of Protestants. Still those Jesuit missionaries, in spite of the decisions of 1656, which were again and again confirmed, taught their Chinese proselytes to adore Confucius; to burn perfumes before the tablets of their ancestors, in sign of worship; to join in idolatrous festivities and other practices; to throw a veil of concealment over the story of the Saviour's crucifixion; never, therefore, to let a crucifix be seen, lest the heathen should object to the scandal of the cross, and lest the so-called Christian converts should take offence if they heard the foundation-truth of the Gospel—that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered a shameful death—that the founder of the Christian religion was despised and rejected of men, and should renounce Christianity openly, or at least lose the grace of baptism.

Who then could say that the Roman Propaganda was jealous for the faith; or that the Supreme and universal Inquisition cared at all for the faith; or that the sacred College of Cardinals in Rome itself had any true zeal for the propagation of the faith? In this case the position of affairs was quite intelligible. The Chinese Emperor, Kang-he, had proclaimed freedom of worship for his subjects, provided they performed their ceremonies according to the teaching of his former preceptor, John Adam Schall, who elaborated a form of religion scarcely distinguishable from

his own; and by order of the Holy See the same crafty missionaries were to be exempted from the meddling of the Inquisition, which, if it acted at all, could not help treating those mandarin clergymen as paganising heretics, which indeed they were. However, all this was quite consistent with Roman policy, which was to exalt the Papal throne at any cost, and not allow even Roman faith to stand for one moment in the way. There was a Latin father who said beautifully of the true Catholic faith, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;*" and the like we may say of Roman politicians, but in a profoundly lower sense, and within a pitifully contracted circle,—*What always was, what you find everywhere, what they all do.*

Notwithstanding all that the Court of Rome might say when directly called upon by Capuchins and others in India, to remove the scandal caused in Europe by the proceedings of the Jesuit Missioners in India and China, it is notorious that the Holy Office put forth no effectual effort to restrain them. To have been consistent they should have burnt every paganising Jesuit that could be caught. Their departure from common Christianity, from the faith professed in Rome, even cumbered and corrupted with false worship as that is, should have been held unpardonable, but the criminals were complimented and blessed in the very Papal Briefs professedly written for their condemnation. On the other hand, one man* who had

* Father Norbert : his well known Memoirs, in three quarto volumes, the last of which bears this title—*Mémoires Historiques, Apologétiques, etc. Présentés en 1751, au Souverain Pontife Benoît XIV. sur les Missions de la Société de Jésus aux Indes et à la Chine, où l'on voit le Commerce immense, et les fausses Relations de leurs Missionnaires, les persecutions qu'ils ont faites aux Envoyés du Siège Apostolique, et aux fidèles Ministres de l'Evangile, leur opiniâtreté à pratiquer les Rites Idolâtres et Superstitieux, anathématisés par plusieurs Papes, et nouvellement par deux éclatantes Bulles, qu'on donnera dans ce Volume; avec un détail de la conduite des Pères Jésuites à l'égard de Benoît XIV., et de l'Auteur de cet Ouvrage.* Par le R. P. NORBERT, Capucin de Lorraine, Missionnaire Apostolique de ces Pays-là, et Procureur-General en Cour de Rome, de ces mêmes Missions. A Londres, chez les Libraires François, MDCCLI.

honestly exposed their doings, reporting what he had himself seen and known in India, was obliged to quit Rome before he could venture to publish the narrative of his experience when among them, and necessitated to print his work in Besançon, and afterwards a justification of the same in London.

A single instance of actual connivance with practices that would have cost any number of men their lives in Italy or Spain, will show the character of those Indian Inquisitors, the author himself being witness.*

“About twelve years ago, in the time when Father Norbert was in the Indies, the city of Goa was besieged by twenty-five thousand Mahrattas. The inhabitants could not venture outside the city without being exposed to pillage. It was not long before a drought made them implore help from Heaven. To this end they addressed themselves to St. Anthony of Padua. You will see how they insulted the Saint rather than invoked him. The Viceroy, the Primate, and all the religious bodies assembled with the people; they stripped the image of the Saint of all its magnificent garments, and put a rope about its neck. In this humiliating condition they carried it in procession to the ditch that surrounds the city, and in sight of all the people they hung it up in one of them. If Father Norbert had been in Goa at the time he would have raised his voice against a practice so shameful to the Christians, and which ought to be condemned by the Inquisition. In the same year he had occasion to speak with an Augustinian, one of the most learned men in Goa, who had been Professor of Theology there, and the procession afforded ample material for conversation. ‘Then did you wish,’ said Father Norbert, ‘by this means to force the Saint to drive away the Mahrattas from the city? Or did you mean to excite yourselves to anger because he had not yet done so? Is not such a kind of worship unreasonable?’

* Tome iii., page 56.

What can the Gentiles of the Indies think of it? Would they treat one of their idols with such contempt — even if it were an image of the Devil? Is there any good sense in honouring the statue of a Saint on the altar one day and letting it down the next day into the bottom of a filthy ditch? Nothing astonishes me more than to see how a city with an Inquisition, and a Primate, where there are so many Theologians and Missioners, gives in to a thing so ridiculous, to say nothing worse.’ The Professor, without seeming at all surprised, answered all this in just a word—‘It was the *costumada*—the custom.’ To think of destroying this custom would be to run the risk of driving the people to revolt. ‘Tell me then,’ said Father Norbert, ‘what is the spirit of the people?’ ‘St. Anthony,’ replied the Augustinian, ‘was humble; his humility has brought down upon the earth continual graces from Heaven, so by this humble action of having the rope about his neck, and being hung up in the ditch, it is hoped that he will obtain the grace that is asked of him.’ Father Norbert rejoined, ‘But the Saints cannot do any meritorious actions after this life. They have reached the journey’s end, and are no longer on the way. The Catholic Church obliges us to believe this* truth, founded on the Holy Scriptures. Besides, it is not the saint that is humbled in this case, but it is you who humble the statue.’ The expression *costumada* came again,” and the narrative proceeds to say that St. Anthony in their Indian missions is generally treated in the same way by persons pretending to be Christians. But the Holy and Universal Inquisition seemed to have no vocation to keep the faith pure, unless when prompted by a motive entirely ecclesiastical or political. The Inquisitors therefore thought that the Commissary should have held his peace, even at Rome, for in relating a multitude of abominations

* Father Norbert said here what his “Holy Church” would pronounce to be “savouring of heresy,” if not heresy direct.

which it was impossible to deny, the Pope said he had acted contrary to certain Bulls. He had told what indeed was true, but he had spoken bitterly, and by divulging a multitude of indisputable facts, had scandalised souls. The Congregation of the Index condemned the book, and the Pope screened himself under the report of this congregation, which is at the head of the Roman and Universal Inquisition.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INDIA.

THE INQUISITION AT GOA.

WE have read that Mar Simeon, the Nestorian vicar, or bishop, perished in the den at Goa, none tells how. About thirty years after him, *M. Dellon*, a French traveller, was thrown into that prison; and, by a rare interposition of Providence, lived to relate what he had witnessed, and what he suffered.

While spending some time at Damaun, on the north-western coast of Hindostan, M. Dellon incurred the jealousy of the Governor, and also of a black priest, on account of a lady, as he is pleased to call her, whom they both admired. He had expressed himself rather freely concerning some of the grosser superstitions of Romanism, and thus afforded the priest, who had the honour to be secretary of the Inquisition for that place, an occasion of proceeding against him for heresy. The priest and the Governor united in a representation to the Chief Inquisitor at Goa, which brought an order for him to be arrested. Like all other persons whom it pleased the Inquisitors or their servants to arrest in any part of the Portuguese dominions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, he was at first thrown into a common prison, with a promiscuous crowd of delinquents, the place and the treatment being of the worst kind, even according to the colonial barbarism of the seventeenth century. In that common prison there was the most complete impartiality. All fared alike, and many prisoners perished from starvation and disease. Many offenders against the Inquisition were there at the time, some accused of Judaism, others of Paganism, in

which sorcery and witchcraft—under a most accurately scientific classification—were included, and others of immorality. In a field so wide and so fruitful the scrutators of the faith could not fail to gather abundantly.

After an incarceration of at least four months, M. Dellon and his fellow-heretics were shipped off for the metropolis of Portuguese India, all of them being in irons. The vessel put in at Bacaim, and the prisoners were transferred, for some days, to the prison of that town, where a large number of persons were kept in custody, under charge of a commissary of the Holy Office, waiting for a vessel to take them to Goa. In due time they were again at sea, and a fair wind wafted their fleet into that port after a voyage of seven days. Until they could be deposited in the cells of the Inquisition, the Archbishop of Goa obligingly threw open *his* prison for their reception; which prison, being ecclesiastical, may be deemed worthy of description. "The most filthy," says Dellon, "the most dark, and the most horrible of all that I ever saw; and I doubt whether a more shocking and horrible prison can anywhere be found. It is a kind of cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little hole. The most subtle rays of the sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stench is extreme. . . ." The Archbishop must have had this prison to keep his parishioners in order.

On the 16th of January, 1674, at eight o'clock in the morning, an officer came with orders to take the prisoners to "the Holy House." With considerable difficulty M. Dellon dragged his iron-loaded limbs thither. The officers helped him to mount the steps at the great entrance, and, in the great hall, smiths were waiting to take off the irons from all the prisoners. One by one they were summoned to audience. Dellon, who was called the last, crossed the hall, passed through an antechamber, and entered a room called by the Portuguese "Board of the Holy Office," where the Grand Inqui-

sitor of the Indies sat at one end of a very large table, on an elevated floor in the middle of the chamber. He was a secular priest, about forty years of age, in full vigour; a man that could do his work with energy. At one end of the room was a large crucifix, reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling; and at one end of the table, near the crucifix, sat a notary on a folding stool.

At the opposite end, and near the Inquisitor, Dellon was placed, and, hoping to soften his judge, fell on his knees before him. But the Inquisitor commanded him to rise, asked whether he knew the reason of his arrest, and advised him to declare it at large, as that was the only way to obtain a speedy release. Dellon caught at the hope of release, began to tell his tale, mixed tears with protestations, again fell at the feet of Don Francisco Delgado Ematos, the Inquisitor, and implored his favourable attention. Don Francisco told him, very coldly, that he had other business on hand; and, nothing moved, rang a silver bell. The Alcayde entered, led out the prisoner into a gallery, opened and searched his trunk, stripped him of every valuable, wrote an inventory, assured him that all should be safely kept, and then led him into a cell about ten feet square, and shut him up there in utter solitude. In the evening they brought him his first meal, which he ate heartily, and slept a little during the night following. Next morning he learnt that he could have no part of his property. Not even was a priest allowed his Breviary there; for in that place they had no form of religion, and for that reason he could not have a book. His hair was cropped close, and therefore he "did not need a comb

Thus began his acquaintance with the Holy House, which he describes as "great and magnificent," on one side of the great space before the church of St. Catherine. There were three gates in front, and it was by the central, or largest, that the prisoners had entered, and ascended a stately flight of steps, leading

into the great hall. The side-gates provided entrance to spacious ranges of apartments, belonging to the Inquisitors. Behind the principal building was another, very spacious, two stories high, and consisting of double rows of cells, opening into galleries that ran from end to end. The cells on the ground-floor were very small, perhaps from the greater thickness of the walls, without any aperture from without for light or air. Those of the upper story were vaulted, white-washed; each had a small, strongly-grated window, without glass, and higher than the tallest man could reach. Towards the gallery, every cell was shut with two doors, the one on the inside, and the other on the outside, of the wall. The inner door folded, was grated at the bottom, open towards the top for the admission of food, and made fast with very strong bolts. The outer door was not so thick, and had no window, but was left open from six every morning until eleven; an arrangement necessary in that climate, unless it were intended to destroy life by suffocation.

To each prisoner was given an earthen pot, with water wherewith to wash; another, full of water to drink; with a cup, a broom, a mat whereon to lie; a large basin for necessary use, changed every fourth day, and another vessel to cover it, and receive offals. The prisoners had three meals a day; and their health, so far as food only could contribute to it in such a place, was cared for in the provision of a wholesome, but spare, diet. Physicians were at hand to render medical assistance to the sick, as were confessors ready to wait upon the dying; but the confessors gave no *viaticum*, administered no unction, said no mass. The place was under an absolute interdict. If any died,—and that many did die is beyond question,—his death was unknown to all without. He was buried within the walls, without any sacred ceremony; and if, after death, it was pronounced that he died in heresy, his bones were taken up to be burned at the next *Acto*.

Unless there happened to be an unusual number of prisoners, each one was alone in his own cell. He might not speak, nor groan, nor sob aloud, nor sigh. His breathing might be audible when the warder listened at the grating, but nothing more. Four warders were stationed in each long gallery. The gallery was open, indeed, at each end, but awfully silent, as if it were the passage of a catacomb. If one of the victims, in despair, or pain, or delirium, uttered a cry, or dared to pronounce a prayer even to God, the jailors would run to the cell, rush in, and beat him cruelly, to inspire terror in the rest.

Once in two months the Inquisitor, with a secretary and an interpreter, visited the prisons, and asked each prisoner if he wanted anything, if his meat was regularly brought, and if he had any complaint against the jailors. His want, after all, lay at the mercy of the merciless. The utterance of his complaint would bring down vengeance, rather than gain redress. But in this visitation the Holy Office professed mercy with much formality, while the inquisitorial secretary collected notes which aided in the crimination, or in the murder, of their victims.

The officers at Goa were, the *Inquisidor Mor*, or Grand Inquisitor, who was always a secular priest; the second Inquisitor, who was at that time a Dominican friar; several deputies, who came when called for, to assist the Inquisitors at trials, but never came without such a summons; qualifiers, as usual, to examine books and writings, but never to witness an examination of the living, nor be present at any act of the kind; a fiscal; a procurator; advocates, so called, for the accused; notaries and familiars. Of these officers enough has been said in preceding chapters. The authority of this tribunal was absolute in Goa, as it would be in Portugal, except that the Archbishop and his Grand Vicar, the Viceroy, and the Governors, could not be arrested without authority obtained, or sent, from the Supreme Council in Lisbon. There

does not appear to have been anything peculiar in the manner of examining and torturing at Goa, where the practice coincided with that of Portugal and Spain.*

The personal narrative of M. Dellon affords a distinct exemplification of the sufferings of prisoners. He had been told that when he desired an audience, he had only to call a jailor, and ask it, and it would be allowed him. But, notwithstanding many entreaties and tears, he could not obtain one until fifteen days had passed away. Then came the Alcayde, and one of his warders. The Alcayde walked first out of the cell. Dellon, uncovered and shorn, and with legs and feet bare, followed him; the warder walking behind. The Alcayde just entered the place of audience, made a profound reverence, stepped back, and allowed his prisoner to enter. The door closed, and Dellon remained alone with the Inquisitor and secretary. He knelt, but Don Fernando sternly bade him sit on a bench, placed there for the use of culprits. Near him, on the table, was a Missal, on which they made him lay his hand, and swear to keep secrecy, and to tell them the truth. They asked if he knew the cause of his imprisonment, and whether he was resolved to confess it. He told them all that he could recollect of unguarded sayings at Damaun, either in argument or conversation, without ever, that he knew, contradicting any article of faith directly or indirectly. He had at some time dropped an offensive word concerning the Inquisition, but so light a word that it did not occur to his remembrance. Don Fernando told him that he had done well in *accusing himself* so willingly; exhorted him in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to complete his self-accusation fully, to the end that he might experience the goodness and mercy which were used in that Tribunal towards those who showed true repentance by a sincere and *unforced* confession. The secretary read aloud the confession and the ex-

* As described in the Sixth Chapter of the present work, and the Appendix, No. I.

hortation. Dellón signed it. Don Fernando rang the silver bell. The Alcayde walked in. In a few moments the prisoner was again shut up in his dungeon.

At the end of another fortnight, and without having asked for it, he was again taken to audience. After a repetition of the former questions, he was asked his name, surname, parentage, baptism, confirmation, place of abode, in whose parish? in what diocese? under what Bishop? They made him kneel down, make the sign of the cross, repeat the Paternoster, Hail Mary, Creed, commandments of God, commandments of the Church, and *Salve Regina*. He did it all cleverly, and even to their satisfaction; but the Inquisition exhorted him, by the tender mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ, to confess more without delay, and sent him to the cell again.

His heart sickened. They had required him to do what was impossible; to confess *more*, after he had acknowledged *all*. In despair, he tried to starve himself to death; but they compelled him to take food. Day and night he wept. At length he betook himself to prayer, imploring pity of "the blessed Virgin," whom he imagined to be, of all beings, the most merciful, and the most ready to give him help. At the end of a month he succeeded in getting another audience, and added to his former confessions what he had now remembered for the first time touching the Inquisition. But they told him that that was not what they wanted, and sent him back again.

This was intolerable. In a frenzy of despair he determined to commit suicide, if possible. Feigning sickness, he had a physician, who treated him for fever, and ordered him to be bled. Never calmed by any treatment of the physician, blood-letting was repeated often, and each time he untied the bandage when left alone, hoping to die from loss of blood; but death fled from him. A humane Franciscan came to confess him, and, hearing his tale of misery,

gave him kind words, asked permission to divulge his attempt at self-destruction to the Inquisitor, procured him a mitigation of solitude by the presence of a fellow-prisoner, a Negro accused of magic; but after five months the Negro was removed, and his mind, broken with suffering, could no more bear up under the aggravated load. By an effort of desperate ingenuity, he almost succeeded in committing suicide, and a jailer found him weltering in his blood, and insensible. Having restored him by cordials, and bound up the wounds he had inflicted on himself, they carried him into the presence of the Inquisitor once more, where he lay on the floor, being unable to sit. They gave him bitter reproaches, ordered his limbs to be confined in irons, and sent him back to a punishment more terrible than death. In fetters he became so furious that they found it necessary to take them off; and from that time his examination assumed another character, as he defended his positions with citations from the Council of Trent, and with some passages of Scripture, which he explained in the most Romish sense, and discovered a depth of ignorance in the Inquisitor, Don Fernando, that was truly surprising. That person had never heard the passage which Dellon quoted to prove the doctrine of baptismal regeneration: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Neither did he know anything of that famous passage in the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent, which declares that images are only to be revered on account of the persons whom they represent. He called for a Bible, and for the Acts of the Council, and was evidently embarrassed on finding the passages where Dellon told him they might be seen.

As the time for a general *Acto* drew near, Dellon heard, every morning, the cries of persons under torture; and afterwards he saw many of them, both men and women, lame and distorted by the rack. On

Sunday, January 11th, 1676, he was surprised by the jailor refusing to receive his linen to be washed; Sunday being washing-day in the "Holy House." While perplexing himself to think what this could mean, the cathedral bells rang for vespers, and then, contrary to custom, rang again for matins; and he could only account for that second novelty by supposing that an *Acto* would be celebrated next day. That Sunday evening they brought him supper, which he refused; and, contrary to their wont at all other times, they did not insist on his taking it, but carried it away. Assured that those were all portents of the horrible catastrophe, and reflecting on oft-repeated threats in the audience-chamber that he should be burnt, he gave himself up to death; and, overwhelmed with sorrow, fell asleep about midnight.

He had not been long asleep when the Alcayde and warders entered the cell with great noise, bringing a lamp; the first time since his imprisonment that they had allowed a lamp to shine there. The Alcayde, laying down a suit of clothes, bade him put them on, and be ready to go out when he came again. At two o'clock in the morning they returned, and he issued from the cell, clad in a vest and trousers, black striped with white, and his feet bare.

About two hundred prisoners, of whom he was one, were made to sit on the floor, along the sides of a spacious gallery, all in the same dark livery, and just visible by the gleaming of a few lamps. A large company of women were also ranged in a neighbouring gallery in the same manner. But they were all motionless, and no one knew his doom. Every eye was fixed, and every one seemed benumbed with misery. In a room not very distant, Dellon perceived a third company; but they were walking about, and some appeared to have long habits. Those were persons condemned to be delivered to the secular arm; and the long habits distinguished Confessors busily collecting confessions, in order to commute the penalty

of "tasting fire" for that of strangling. At four o'clock servants of the house came, with warders, and gave bread and figs to those who would accept the refreshment. Dellon refused to take it; but the man gave him some hope of life by advising him to accept what was offered. "Take your bread," said he; "and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket: you will be certainly hungry *before you return*." From this he inferred that he should not end the day at the stake, but come back to undergo penance.

A little before sunrise the great bell of the cathedral tolled, and at its sound Goa was aroused. The people ran into the streets, soon lining the chief thoroughfares, and crowding every place whence view could be had of the procession. Day broke, and Dellon saw the faces of his fellow-prisoners, most of whom were Indians. He could only, by their complexion, distinguish about twelve Europeans. Every countenance exhibited shame, fear, grief, or an appalling blankness of apathy; as if unutterable suffering in the lightless dungeons beneath had bereft them of intellect. The company soon began to move, but slowly, as the Alcayde led them, one by one, towards the door of the great hall, where sat the Grand Inquisitor; whose secretary called the name of each as he came, and the name of a sponsor, who also presented himself from amongst a crowd of the bettermost inhabitants of Goa, assembled there for that service. "The General of the Portuguese ships in the Indies" had the honour of placing himself beside our Frenchman.

As soon as the procession was formed, it marched off in order. Poor Dellon went barefoot like the rest, through streets made rough with little flint-stones, scattered thickly about; and sorely were his feet wounded, after an hour's marching up and down. Weary, and covered with shame and confusion, this long train of culprits entered the church of St. Francis, where preparation was made for the *Acto*; the climate of India not permitting a celebration of that solemnity under the burning sky.

There they sat, together with their sponsors, in galleries prepared for the occasion. Sambenitos, grey *zamarras*, with painted flames and devils, *corozas* (or *carrochas*, as the Portuguese call them), tapers, and all the paraphernalia of an *Acto*, made up a woeful spectacle. The Grand Inquisitor, the Viceroy, and other personages, having taken their seats of state, and the great crucifix being erected on the altar between massive silver candlesticks, with tapers contrasting their glare with the deadly black of dress and skin, the Provincial of the Augustinians mounted the pulpit, and delivered the sermon. Dellon made but one note of it, where the preacher compared the Inquisition to Noah's ark, which received all sorts of beasts *wild*, but sent them out *tame*. And the appearance of the hundreds who had been inmates of that ark certainly justified the figure.

After sermon, two readers went up, one after another, into the same pulpit,—(surely one person in the same pulpit might anywhere be sufficient,)—read the processes between them, and pronounced the sentences, the person concerned standing before them, with the Alcayde holding a lighted taper in his hand. Dellon, in his turn, heard the cause of his long sufferings. He had maintained the invalidity of *baptismus flaminis*, or desire to be baptised when there is no one to administer the rite of baptism by water. He had said that images ought not to be adored, and he had called an ivory crucifix a piece of ivory. He had spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition; and, above all, he had an ill intention. His punishment was to be confiscation of his property, banishment from India, and five years' service in the galleys in Portugal, with such penance as the Inquisitors might enjoin.

All the prisoners being excommunicate, the Inquisitor, after the sentences had been pronounced, put on his alb and stole, walked into the middle of the church, and absolved them all at once. Dellon's gallant

sponsor, who before this moment would not even answer him when he spoke, now embraced him, called him brother, and gave him a pinch of snuff in token of reconciliation. Penance, however, had to follow, the absolution notwithstanding.

There were two persons—a man and a woman—for whom the Church had no more that she could do; and these, with four dead bodies, and the effigies of the dead, were taken to be burnt on the Campo Santo Lazaro, on the river side, the place appointed for that purpose; that the Viceroy might see justice done on heretics, as he surveyed the execution from his palace-windows.

The remainder of Dellon's history adds nothing to what we have already heard of the customs of the Inquisition. He was taken to Lisbon, and, after working in a gang of convicts for some time, was released on the intercession of some friends in France with the Portuguese Government. With regard to his despair and attempts at suicide when in prison, we may observe that suicide was very frequent there, as he states. The contrast of this disconsolate impatience with the resignation and constancy of Christian confessors in similar circumstances is obvious, and affords valuable exemplification of the difference between those who suffer without any consciousness of Divine favour, and those who can rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

The friends of M. Dellon were not so active as they might have been in procuring his deliverance; and it does not appear that the French Government made his case a subject of reclamation. But the English in India, even when but occupants of a few factories, showed a better sense of duty, as one instance recorded by Father Norbert* may illustrate.

“A Capuchin missionary, named Father Euphrem,

* *Mémoires Historiques, etc., présentés en 1751 au Souverain Pontife Benoît XIV., sur les Missions de la Société de Jésus aux Indes et à la Chine, par le R. P. NORBERT.* Tom. iii., p. 56. Londres.

arriving at Madras towards the end of the last (seventeenth) century, on his way to his mission in Pegu, the English requested him to remain in the city. They promised him entire liberty in respect to the Roman religion, which he might exercise, and preach, and minister to the Catholics that were already settled there. He readily consented," says Norbert, "to such equitable proposals, and formed an establishment, which still exists under the protection of the English Company.

"This father had pointed out, in a sermon, that there is a great difference between the *worship* that should be rendered to the Sovereign Creator, and the *honour* that we pay to Mary, who is but a creature; and therefore some Portuguese, superstitious as Indians, accused him at the Inquisition of Goa of having preached against the Mother of God. The Jesuits, who are Inquisitors there, managed very adroitly to carry off the missionary, take him to Goa, distant from Madras about two hundred leagues, and, without any other formality of prosecution, cast him into the depth of a prison. The English, justly shocked at such a proceeding, undertook to break the prisoner's chains. One of their vessels dropped anchor off Goa, and eight or ten determined men, well armed, presented themselves at the gate of the Inquisition, asking to see the interior. Two of them kept guard at the gate, and the others, sword in hand, threatened the Inquisitors that, if they did not instantly give up Father Euphrem, they would run them through. Euphrem was quickly set at liberty. They carried him away to the ship, the sentinels meanwhile keeping the gate; and, as soon as these could follow them on board, the ship hoisted sail, and took back the missionary to Madras."

The Inquisition of Goa continued its *Actos* for a century after the affair of Dellon. The one at which he was present followed an interval of two years, or rather more, but so long an interval was not usual; and an

aged Franciscan friar, whom Dr. Buchanan found there, told him that from the year 1770 to 1775 he had witnessed five annual celebrations. In this last year the King of Portugal, in "humanity and tender mercy," as the same friar said, abolished the tribunal. But immediately after his death the power of the priests again gained the ascendant, and the Queen Dowager re-established it in 1779, after a bloodless period of five years; subject, indeed, to certain restrictions, but not in the slightest degree better than before. One apparent improvement was, that a larger number of witnesses was required to convict a criminal. There were to be seven, indeed, in the time of Dellon; but as any one, irrespective of character, might witness against a person accused of heresy, as it required very great courage to refuse to give evidence according to the wish of the Inquisitors, and as the notary made the utmost of every word that might be condemnatory, that trifling change of the rule of the Church concerning inquisitorial examinations availed very little on the side of humanity. Another restriction was "that the *Acto-de-Fé* should not be held publicly, as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition." This only made the Secret perfect, and augmented the power, while it diminished the odium, of the institution, "in the presence of British dominion and civilization."

In the summer of 1808 Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited Goa, and had been unexpectedly invited by Joseph à Doloribus, second and most active Inquisitor, to lodge with him during his visit. Not without some surprise, Dr. Buchanan found himself—"heretic, schismatic, and rebel" as he was—politely entertained by so dread a personage. Professing to regard his English visitor merely as a literary man,—for of course his Anglican orders were ignored,—Friar Joseph, himself well educated, seemed to enjoy his company, and was unreservedly communicative on

every subject not pertaining to his own vocation. When that subject was first introduced by an apparently incidental question, he did not scruple to return the desired information; telling Dr. Buchanan that the establishment was nearly as extensive as in former times. In the library of the Chief Inquisitor he saw a register containing the names of all the officers, who still were numerous.

On the second morning after his arrival, the Doctor was surprised to see his host come into his apartment clad in black robes from head to foot, instead of white, the usual colour of his order, the Augustinian. He said that he was going to sit on the Tribunal of the Holy Office; and it transpired that, so far from his "august office" not occupying much of his time, he sat there three or four days every week. After his return in the evening, the Doctor put Dellon's book into his hand, asking if he had ever seen it. He had never seen it before; and, after reading aloud and slowly, "*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*," began to peruse it with eagerness. While Dr. Buchanan employed himself in writing, Friar Joseph devoured page after page; but, as the narrative proceeded, betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. Then he turned to the middle, looked at the end, skimmed over the table of contents, fixed on principal passages, and at one place exclaimed, in his broad Italian accent, "*Mendacium! Mendacium!*" The Doctor requested him to mark the passages that were untrue, proposed to discuss them afterwards, and said that he had other books on the subject. The mention of *other books* startled Father Joseph: he looked anxiously on some books that were on the table, and then gave himself up to the perusal of Dellon's Narrative until bed-time. Even then he asked permission to take it to his chamber.

The Doctor had fallen asleep under the roof of the Inquisitor's house, confident, under God, in the protection at that time guaranteed to a British subject, his servants sleeping in a gallery outside the chamber

door; and, about midnight, he was "waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror from some one in the gallery." In the first moment of surprise he concluded it must be the alguacils of the Holy Office seizing his servants, to carry them to the Inquisition. But on going out he saw the servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm, a boy of about fourteen, at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning, at breakfast, the Inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a *phantasma animi*,—a phantom of the imagination.

It might have been so. Phantoms might well haunt such a place. As to Dellon's book, the Inquisitor acknowledged that the descriptions were correct, but complained that the writer had misjudged the motives of the Inquisitors, and written uncharitably of Holy Church. Their conversation grew earnest: the Inquisitor was anxious to impress his visitor with the idea that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated. At length Dr. Buchanan plainly requested to *see* the Inquisition, that he might judge for himself as to the humanity shown to the inmates, according to the Inquisitor; and gave as a reason why he should be satisfied, his interest in the affairs of India, on which he had written, and his purpose to write on them again, in which case he could scarcely be silent concerning the Inquisition. The countenance of his host fell; but, after some further observations, he reluctantly promised to comply with his request.

Next morning, after breakfast, Joseph à Doloribus went to dress for the Holy Office, and soon returned in his black robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time, for the purpose of showing him

the Inquisition. The Doctor fancied that he looked more severe than usual, and that his attendants were not so civil as before. But the truth was that the midnight scene still perplexed him. They had proceeded in their palanquins to the Holy House, distant about a quarter of a mile; and the Inquisitor said, as they were ascending the steps of the great entrance, that he hoped the Doctor would be satisfied with a passing view of the Inquisition, and would retire when he should desire him to do so. The Doctor followed with "tolerable confidence" towards the great hall aforementioned, where they were met by several well-dressed persons, familiars, as it afterwards appeared, who bowed very low to the Inquisitor, and looked with surprise at the stranger. Dr. Buchanan paced the hall slowly, and in thoughtful silence; the Inquisitor thoughtful too, silent, and embarrassed. The shades of a multitude of victims seemed to haunt those chambers, and Dr. Buchanan could not restrain himself from breaking silence. "Would not Holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?" The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned him to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By that door he conducted him to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the Chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought him back again to the great hall, and seemed anxious that the troublesome visitor should depart; but only the very words of Dr. Buchanan can adequately describe the close of this extraordinary interview.

" 'Now, Father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below. I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been the mind of the Inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness; but he steadily resisted, and seemed offended, or rather agitated, by my

importunity. I intimated to him plainly that the only way to do justice to his own assertion and arguments regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building; and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British Government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they have seen the light of the sun, and whether they expect ever to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture, and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment, are now practised inside the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public *Acto-de-Fé*. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.'

"To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good Father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions; and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons: be pleased, then, merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word. How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the Inquisition?' The Inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume, and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance."

After leaving the Inquisitor, Dr. Buchanan, feeling as if he could not refrain from endeavouring to get another and perhaps nearer view, returned to avail himself of the pretext afforded by a promise, from the Chief Inquisitor, of a letter to the British Resident in Travancore, in answer to one which he had brought him from that officer. The Inquisitors he expected to find within, in the "Board of the Holy Office." The doorkeepers surveyed him doubtfully, but allowed him to pass. He entered that great hall, went up directly to the lofty crucifix described by Dellon, sat down on a form, wrote some notes, and then desired an attendant to carry in his name to the Inquisitor. As this person was walking across the hall, the Doctor saw a poor woman sitting by the wall. She clasped her hands, and looked at him imploringly. The sight chilled his spirit; and as he was asking the attendants the cause of her apprehension,—for she was awaiting trial,—Joseph à Doloribus came, in answer to his message, and was about to complain of the intrusion, when he parried the complaint by asking for the letter from the Chief Inquisitor. He promised to send it after him, and conducted him to the door. As they passed the poor woman, the Doctor pointed to her, and said with emphasis, "Behold, Father, another victim of the Holy Inquisition." The other answered nothing: they bowed, and separated without a word.

When Dr. Buchanan published his "Christian Researches in Asia," in the year 1812, the horrible tribunal still existed in Goa; but the establishment of a scheme of constitutional government in Portugal eventually put an end to it, at least in form, throughout the Portuguese dominions abroad.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ITALY.

THE FIRST ITALIAN TRIBUNALS.

THE first principles of the Inquisition were laid down in the Fourth Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215. Innocent IV., about thirty years later, addressed certain Constitutions to the governors, magistrates, and municipal bodies in the provinces of Italy, who were all regarded as children and vassals of the Papal See. They suffered themselves to be so regarded, and condescended so to act, with the single exception of the Republic of Venice; which refused, indeed, to accept the ignoble designation, or to allow the Bishop of Rome directly to control its magistrates in the exercise of their domestic jurisdiction; but the Venetian State did not refuse to persecute by its own authority.

"After that Pope Innocent IV.," says Fra Paolo Sarpi, "tried to deprive the Emperor Frederic II. of the empire, kingdom, and states that he possessed; and a great part of Christendom being thereupon in arms, and all Lombardy in debate with the March of Trevigi and Romagna, then divided into favourers of the Pope and of the Emperor, they were infected with various perverse opinions;" (as this historian calls evangelical doctrines;) "and, retreating to Venice, there to live in security, the wisdom of this government found a remedy in the year 1249, to guard the city from being infected with that contagion which infected the rest of Italy. Wherefore they determined to choose honest, discreet, and Catholic men to inquire against heretics; and that the Patriarch of Grado, the Bishop of Castello, and the other Bishops

of the Doge of Venice, from Grado to Cavarzere, should judge of their opinions; and that those that by any of the bishops were given out to be heretics, should be condemned to the fire by the Doge and Councillors, or the major part of them."*

The Doge and Councillors of Venice took it for a fundamental principle of Christianity that heretics ought to be punished, and that the punishment should be capital; but they said that they would not allow a foreigner to intermeddle either in the sentence or the execution. Neither did they; and although the Venetian territory ceased to afford refuge to the persecuted, inquest was not to be made, nor death demanded, by any foreign prince or prelate, and the Inquisition there began under an exclusively civil authority and jurisdiction.

Where the magistrates of other Italian States did not resist the young Inquisition for the sake of honour, the people often resisted for the sake of liberty. Of two Dominicans appointed to conduct the operations of an Inquisition in Lombardy, one was killed while in the execution of his office; and although the mention of this fact should perhaps be attended with a note of disapprobation, it must be remembered that the Church recognised, and even invited, tumultuary violence on its own side; instructing the priests to raise mobs for the purpose of murdering heretics. We must therefore acknowledge that if the mob so taught and so employed sometimes fell upon their teachers, the retribution was merited, to say the least; and they who roused the mob at first deserved the blame at last. To this day the same sanction is given to mob violence. That "against traitors and public enemies every man is a soldier," is a sentence ascribed to Tertullian, and quoted by ecclesiastics where they would instigate the laity to violence in support of their Church.†

* *History of the Inquisition of Venice*, by Paolo Sarpi. Translated into English. Chap. i.

† It was used by the Marquis of Vallada in a debate in the

By this principle the legislatures of Italian States believed their laws to be sanctified, when they engaged the people to destroy heretics. In this spirit was framed a statute of the ancient "Art" or Guild of Calimala, in Florence, beginning with these articles:—

"1. We will observe, and honour, and maintain, the holy Catholic faith, and will give help and counsel to the Government of Florence for destroying heretical pravity, if by that Government we are so required. And this we will do in good faith, according to the Statute of the Commune of Florence." (Which statute required popular assistance for that purpose.)

"2. It is also provided that no one shall dare to speak villainy of God, or of His saints, or of Holy Mary, or to name them villainously or lawlessly in the Court of Calimala, under a penalty of twenty-five pounds (*livre*) for each and every time, or above that sum, at the pleasure of the consuls of Calimala." *

It is most proper that a corporate body should restrain its members by fine from using any blasphemous or indecent language; but to engage in general to destroy heresy at the pleasure of the Government, and to silence by heavy fines any testimony borne against idolatry, is another matter.

After the death of the Dominican in Lombardy, the nobles and magistrates feared to enforce the decrees of the Emperor Frederic against the Patarenes and others, as Innocent IV. still required them to do; and the Inquisition was therefore empowered, by the Pope, to lay them under ecclesiastical censures until they had inserted the pontifical and imperial statutes—

Portuguese House of Lords on the 4th of May, 1855. His object was to banish a Protestant who had attempted to discourse publicly in Lisbon on the doctrines of his religion, which both the Marquis and "the Minister of the Kingdom" regarded as an offence against the religion of the State.—*Diario do Governo*, Lisboa, 5 de Maio, 1855.

* *Statuto dell' Arte di Calimala, nell' Appendice alla Storia Politica dei Municipj Italiani*, di P. E. GIUDICI. Firenze, 1851.

copies of which were sent to them for that purpose—among the statutes of their “cities and places,” and had sworn to observe the same, and cause them to be observed with all their might. And as for private persons, against whom the terrors of an interdict could not be launched, he commanded his dear sons, the Inquisitors, to exact caution-money from persons suspected of aiding or abetting heretics, to be forfeited to the Holy Office, if they were detected in rendering the least succour or encouragement to excommunicated, or even suspected, persons. This award of prize money to the scrutators of the faith could not but quicken their diligence, and stimulate their courage.

And now the so-called Vicars of Christ breathed defiance against all the world. The Empire and the Papacy were in arms against each other, almost dividing Europe between the factions of Guelph and Ghibeline. Italy there was none. State was divided against state from one end to the other of what once was Italy; and the horrors of a religious war unspeakably aggravated the general confusion. The Church of Rome devolved on the Inquisitors the active service of this war, and Pope after Pope instructed them how to impress prelates to head the troops of crusaders raised to fight against Christians in the name of Christ. These Inquisitors travelled from place to place, delivering inflammatory harangues, and then enlisting volunteers for the murderous enterprise. For wages they offered plenary indulgences, and all the booty that their marauders could find in the dwellings of the persecuted. For honour they gave the murderers crosses, desecrating the sign of human redemption by making it a badge of butchery.

The annals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are full of the conflicts that raged between the Inquisition, or its agents, and the civil powers of Europe; but, most of all, with those called Italian. But the isolation of states, the ignorance of populations, and the advancing organisation of the ecclesiastical

forces, determined the victory, in most cases, to the aggressors.

In Genoa, for example, one Anselmo, an Inquisitor-General, persisted in requiring the Governor of the city, *Filippo di Torino*, to insert the numerous Decrees of the Emperors and Constitutions of the Popes in the tables of civic law, and publish them throughout the city and state for universal observance. The Governor, supported by the magistracy in general, refused to do so, and thereby incurred condemnation as a hinderer of the Holy Office, and fell under suspicion of being a favourer of heretics. The Inquisitor summoned him to appear at his table, there to undergo examination; but he indignantly refused to go. Anselmo solemnly excommunicated him, and placed Genoa under interdict. Filippo appealed to Alexander IV. for redress; and His Holiness deigned to suspend the interdict until a certain day, merely to give the recalcitrant Governor space for repentance. Before the appointed day came, the poor man tendered obedience, caused all the Constitutions that the Inquisitor pleased to specify to be inscribed among the laws of Genoa, and had all put to death whom the Inquisitor chose to deliver over to him under sentence of heresy. During this ignominious quivering under the hoof of priestly tyranny, some one had written a "Short Tract concerning the Perils of the Last Times," disclosing some abominations of the Dominican and Franciscan Inquisitors. To get rid of such annoyances, Pope Alexander employed a method of suppression which afterwards became general, and still should form the constant business of a Roman congregation. He commanded three Cardinals to read the book, received their censure, gave that censure sanction, and required the copies that had seen the light to be given up to the Inquisitors within a week, to be publicly burnt. Thus Genoa was made quiet for a time; and there can be no doubt that, besides the book, many of its readers were committed to the flames.* Genoa may be fairly

* BZOVIVS, A.D. 1256.

taken as a specimen of the state of all that lay south of the Alps.

The silent abjection of Italy, and the inquisitorial triumph achieved over Europe, gave Pope Alexander leisure to strengthen the existing code, and issue new mandates to the Inquisitors and other clergy everywhere, assigning to each class of ecclesiastics their peculiar part in the general service; thus imparting to the tribunals uniformity of administration, and making the secular clergy more and more subservient for the general inquisition of heretical pravity.

Language could not be more sternly imperative than that of Alexander IV. to his "beloved children, the podestas, councillors, and communities of the cities and other places of Italy." "We command the whole of you (*universitati vestræ*) by Apostolic letters, that so far as we have explained to you the laws of the Emperor Frederic against heretical pravity, of which copies are sent herewith, you every one of you cause them to be made known in your capitulars against heretics of all sects whatever, and proceed in conformity thereto with exact diligence. And we have directed our beloved children, the friars Inquisitors of heretical pravity, and in our letters to each of them have enjoined, that if you do not, they compel you by excommunication of your persons, and interdict on your land without appeal."* The civil authorities not being sufficiently prompt in rendering obedience to this mandate, he sent the very next year a law, which they, as mere auxiliaries to the Inquisition, were to execute in all their states. And as for the Inquisitors themselves, he gave them a Bull to save them from any concern of conscience, while committing unlimited rapine and murder, setting forth that "the God of indulgences and Father of mercy," valuing their services in the cause of the faith, had empowered him to refresh them with salutary rewards; and that, therefore, relying on the authority

* *Litteræ Apostolicæ, ut supra.*

of God, *and* of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, he gave them, beforehand, a free pardon of all sins. Being thus booted, they could less uncomfortably wade through blood.

Whoever would study in original sources the changeful state of religion in Italy under the pontificate of Alexander IV. might find the first suggestions in his Letters Apostolic. In spite of all those fulminations, so frequently repeated, and in defiance of all the coercion that he could employ, the laity would not yield universal obedience to his pleasure; and from almost all quarters the Inquisitors reported that magistrates and people did not support them to the extent of their requirements, and that they were prevented by passive resistance from rooting the tares out of the field.

Some few cities, on the other hand, were made to seem loyal to the Pope; and one of them is marked as worthy of everlasting honour on that account. That city was Viterbo, a place held under the pressure of ecclesiastical authority. At Chiana, in the patrimony of St. Peter, *Capello di Chiana*, as he is called, having been convicted of heresy, and condemned accordingly, but probably supported by the people, had refused to yield, and the Inquisitors could not get possession of his person. Some of the authorities of Viterbo, doubtless themselves ecclesiastics, came to the help of the Inquisitors by raising "an army" to march against him; and the "Father of the faithful" hastened to laud their zeal, and exhort them to attack the town without loss of time, and lay waste the lands of Capello. The senators of Viterbo, indeed, had forbidden the troops to march; but Alexander bade them go, notwithstanding, and commanded the senators to revoke the prohibition. "Be careful thus to obey our admonitions and commands," said he to the ruffians, "that you may increase in merits with God, in grace from us, and in glorious fame with men." At this rate Alexander proceeded until his death.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the Papal thunders rolled more widely; the Bulls being no longer addressed to those provinces only where Roman influences were most powerful and the servants of the Inquisition most active, but to "all believers in Christ," under the assumption that all the world was amenable to the Pope.

In Parma, Honorius IV. being our witness, the inhabitants rescued a woman from the stake, whither the chiefs of the city had led her, in pursuance of a sentence of the Holy Office. The people dispersed the executioners, went to the Franciscan convent, burst open the doors, battered in the roof of the church, took away vestments and other valuables, and administered such a castigation on the bodies of as many friars as they could catch,—each member of that brotherhood being invested with the office of Inquisitor,—that the whole of them fled, one alone excepted, who had not strength to flee left in him, but died of the wounds received. Gladly would the Podesta, the Captain, and other magistrates of Parma have been released from obligation to burn their fellow-citizens, and for some time they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop, who cited them to answer for the riot; but the usual application of an interdict brought them to the dust again; and, abjectly thanking the Pope for his lenity in sparing them from the vengeance of a crusade, the community of Parma paid Pope Honorius a fine of a thousand marks of silver, which he imposed on them for their insolence.

Apostolic letters, however, do not suffer the whole truth to transpire, or we should hear much more than such incidents as these; and probably on the present occasion we should hear confessions of Gospel truth as well as protestations against the Pope. Many persons crossed over to Sicily, in hope of finding refuge on that island; but the vigilant Pope sent a party of Inquisitors after them, who pursued them into

their most remote retreats, and did not relinquish the pursuit so long as a fugitive could be tracked. But that was not until the lapse of nearly seventy years, when a few survivors came back into Calabria (A.D. 1353), and there preached Christ with considerable acceptance, rousing again the ire of Rome. Innocent VI. dispatched a Dominican Inquisitor to counteract their influence also, if possible, and subjected the whole kingdom of Sicily to censure, in revenge for some degree of humanity in the laity, who presumed to connive at the existence of any more enlightened Christians among them.*

But all the states of Italy in the fourteenth century still retained a strong feeling of national independence, and especially the nobles, who would certainly have cast off the yoke of Papal supremacy had it not been for the Inquisition.

Venice was, in those times, the strongest, most flourishing, and most important state of all, on account of its commercial prosperity, and its position as a bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. To subdue Venice by force was therefore impossible. The Popes resorted to stratagem. Nicholas IV., himself a Minor Friar, on coming to the Papal throne in 1288, besought the Doge and Senate to allow the brethren of his order to exercise their functions as Inquisitors within the Republic. The Venetians, foolishly imagining that Popes can be bound by stipulations, and trusting in their own power to resist future encroachments, yielded to his importunity after some reluctance, and suffered the Franciscans to assume the office in conjunction with the Doge, or, as they fancied, in subordination to the Doge. To their chief magistrate they reserved the dignity of Inquisitor-General, inasmuch as he sanctioned the prosecutions, received the spoils, and paid the Inquisitors very handsomely. The Pope most readily agreed to the arrangement, and the Doge was flattered. He fondly thought himself an Alex-

* BZOVIVS, A.D. 1353.

ander, able to mount and rein in the Bucephalus that none else had mastered. The Venetians were content, and forthwith gloried in being the only people in the world whose magistrates were permitted to look into the dungeons, and haply to exert some influence in managing the affairs of the Inquisition. Twelve years passed away quietly. The Inquisitors did their duty with diligence, and the Councillors of State were complacent and undisturbed, until one Friar Anthony, too confident in possession, issued a monitory to the Doge, requiring him to swear submission to the Papal and Imperial Constitutions against heretics. These Constitutions, as we have just now related, would have reduced all civil power to a nullity, except for killing victims marked out in secret for execution. The Doge refused obedience; but the erection of a lay Inquisition in the first instance, and the subsequent admission of the Friars to share in its management, laid the foundation of sore troubles.

Among other chiefs of the Ghibelines, or adherents of the Emperor in opposition to the Pope, *Matteo Visconti*, Lord of Milan, incurred the displeasure of His Holiness. To overcome him by crusade was not yet possible; and, as for interdict, the Pope had already almost laid an interdict on the Milanese clergy by preventing no small number of them from performing their ordinary duties; but the Inquisition had to settle the quarrel. Other means having failed, Matteo was accused of heresy, and information was taken by the Inquisitors to show that he had been guilty of many wicked actions, and, among them, the following:—He had for many years prevented the Inquisitor Placentino from appointing officers to arrest heretics, and had impeded the officers of the Holy Inquisition. He had forcibly arrested that Inquisitor-Bishop and many other prelates, and sent them into exile. He had violated the interdict at Milan, by compelling priests to minister the Sacraments against their will. He had followed the sect of one Manfredo.* Visconti

* BZOVIVS, A.D. 1322.

being now condemned for heresy, Frederic of Austria, Louis of Bavaria, and the Marquis of Monferrato, declared war on him, and under this plea of heresy, deprived him and his children of their dignity and their dominions.

It is to be regretted that we have no means of enlivening and hallowing the present sketch by reciting any triumphs of our Lord's martyrs; for some such there must have been. The Inquisitors themselves, however, afford us just a glimpse into those scenes of murder, by leaving a few notes of their own on record.

Giraldi Segarelli, a native of some part of the Duchy of Parma, of humble parentage, made his appearance in the capital, probably about the year 1270. A friar, Salimbeno, whose manuscript was found in the library of Cardinal Sabelli, a "Supreme Inquisitor in the universal Christian Republic," describes him as little better than an idiot;—which might mean that he was much like a thorough monk. He says that he sold his property, went into the city, and gave away the money to the rabble, and then devoted himself to preaching,—to the delusion, as he says, of the lowest and most licentious of the people. It appears to be certain, however, that his followers multiplied exceedingly, that he was for some time imprisoned by the bishop in the episcopal palace, and then sent away from Parma, but returned, and continued to propagate his doctrine in the city. The inquisitorial summary of his doctrine is as follows:—

That the Church of Rome has utterly lost the authority received from the Lord Jesus Christ, on account of the wickedness of the prelates. That the Church governed by Pope, cardinals, clerks, and monks, is not the Church of God, but is reprobate and barren. That the Roman Church is the apostate harlot of whom St. John speaks in the Apocalypse. That the authority originally given to the Roman Church has passed over to the Apostolics, as they are

called, a spiritual congregation, raised up by God in these last times. That he, Giral-di Segarelli, was Divinely commissioned to bring back the Church to its original purity. That the Apostolics are the only Church of God that resembles that of the apostles; and therefore they owe no obedience to the Pope, nor to any other person; but they have their law from Christ,—the law of a free and perfect life. That the Pope cannot compel them to desert their sect, nor has he power to excommunicate them. That all persons are at liberty to enter their sect, wife without permission of her husband, and husband without consent of his wife; and that in such cases the Pope cannot dissolve the marriage, but, according to the friar, the Apostolics say they can. That no one can leave them without mortal sin, nor any be saved that is not one of them. That all who persecute them commit mortal sin, and are in danger of perdition. That unless the Pope were as holy as St. Peter, he could not absolve. That all the Popes and prelates, since the time of Silvester, have been deceivers; and that all the ecclesiastical orders are a detriment to the faith of Christ. That the laity should not pay tithes until the prelates are as poor as the apostles. That life is more perfect without a monkish vow than with it. That God can be worshipped anywhere better than in a church. That no man should swear, not even when required by an Inquisitor to do so. And he is charged, as usual, with immoral opinions and practices.

This very shade of doctrinal sentiment prevailed in the thirteenth century,—wherever it might have originated,—especially among the Hussites; and many of its features, where divergent from the Scriptural standard, were offensively developed in the earlier period of the German Reformation. But there is much purely Gospel truth in it; and the offence of Giral-di must have chiefly consisted in denying the holiness and authority of the Church of Rome. For this he was burnt alive at Parma on the 18th day of July, 1300.

Seven years after this martyrdom, *Dulcino* and *Margarita* his wife fled from Milan, and took refuge in the mountain-country of Novara. Into those retreats no fewer than six thousand fugitives followed them. The Inquisitor-General of Lombardy sent crusaders to hunt them down; and many were taken, —how many our authority does not say,—and were brought to Vercelli, where *Dulcino* and his wife were torn limb from limb, by order of the Inquisitors, and their disjointed bodies were then burnt. This brutal execution was followed by a new crusade, undertaken by command of Clement V., who offered a plenary indulgence to each crusader. The bishops and the Dominicans united for the extirpation of the false Apostolics, as they called them, with perfect unanimity, and with terrible success.

It is not probable that the Inquisitors, up to this time, preserved very exact or copious records of their proceedings; and although the summaries became very full as soon as the offices, properly so called, came into action, much of the material thus accumulated has perished. Often have the Inquisitors destroyed their own archives, to prevent their being seized by the agents of hostile governments, or by angry mobs. We must therefore be content with such material of history as can be found, miscellaneous and fragmentary though it be; and even this teaches us that, besides pursuing and punishing heretics, the so-called guardians of the faith laid hands on all sectarians of any novel superstition or any new sort of politics that happened to be prevailing in their neighbourhood, so far as it was practicable for them to go.

As it had been maintained in the Vatican from a rather early date that by divine right the Pope is Lord of all, so was it held to be a sin of sacrilege to deny or even to grudge anything to a Pope, and heresy to dispute or even doubt the validity of his claim to supreme power, with universal possession and obedience. The Inquisition was the standing

army, the reason of whose existence was the necessity of a well-trained force to fight his battles, and to be ready for action at any moment, inasmuch as the mere visible array would be of service. For example:—When, in the fourteenth century, the Marquises d'Este, Lords of Ferrara, desired to make sure the independence of their State, and offered to negotiate to that effect with Pope John, twenty-second of the name, the Holy Father, not satisfied with refusing that request, declared them heretics.

Then the Inquisition instituted proceedings against them; and although both those lords, Rinaldo and Obizzo, were known to be “zealous Catholics,” and Guelphs beside, they were amazed to find themselves treated as heretics by the Holy Office, and enemies of the Pope.* With equal reason,—not to say greater, might the Roman Inquisition of this day, if there were one, propose to burn the whole population of Italy; for the Italians have taken possession, not only of the little estate Ferrara, but of the Italian territory altogether, seeing that it had been in possession of the Popes up to the 20th of September, 1870, when the soldiers of the real King of Italy entered Rome. But Popes and Inquisitors cannot change their unchangeable nature.

Just then we find them persecuting astrologers, necromancers, alchemists, and wizards, in Italy. Pagan superstition, which is persistent far beyond general belief, even in our own country in the present day, intimately pervaded the popular mind in those dark ages; and, in spite of imperial edicts and inquisitorial severities, all varieties of occult science were as diligently cultivated in Italy as in Scythia or in Barbary. The clergy themselves were hardly less proficient than the laity in those follies.

In the thirteenth century astrology seems to have taken rank with acknowledged sciences; and, in the fourteenth, proficiency in its mysteries was a passport

* MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia*, VIII., i., 161.

to fame, if not also to fortune. Astronomy and judicial astrology were confounded into one. In the Universities of Padua and Bologna there were chairs of judicial astrology; and men of the finest genius thought it incumbent on them to prosecute the study. The most potent sovereign never thought himself more happy than when attended by some renowned astrologer, who, privy to the movements, conjunctions, and oppositions of the heavenly bodies, prescribed fortunate, or warned his clients against unfortunate, days and hours. Houses were built, cities founded, armies set on the march, and battles fought, only at the times approved by those secretaries of the fates; and under the direction of inferior wizards were performed the more important actions of domestic life. Prayer itself was thought to be more or less efficacious according to the hour of its offering; and a man who doubted the power of the stars was generally suspected of impiety towards God. But the Inquisitors were, of all persons, the most profound students of these arts; and it was no small part of their duty to decide whether the teaching and practice of the astrologer was consistent or not with the doctrine of the Church. According to them, it became criminal when he entered into compact with devils, and used their power—for they believed that there was such a power—for the perpetration of evil. And it cannot be doubted that this craft occasioned the grossest immoralities, and that the study of demonology and witchcraft, pursued with avidity by the highest and the lowest clergy, tended to aggravate incalculably the abominations of the confessional. If it had been otherwise, and the Inquisitors, possessing superior intelligence, had used their opportunity to save the people from its corruption, we might find pleasure in recording instances of their usefulness, and should gladly confess that, in one respect at least, the Inquisition was a public benefit. From two notices of the dealings of the Holy Office with astrologers in the fourteenth century the reader may judge.

Pietro di Albano, native of Albano, a village in the territory of Padua, was born in the year 1250. When very young, he went to Constantinople to learn Greek, an accomplishment so rare in those times as to invest its possessor with an almost supernatural character in the estimation of the vulgar; and the vulgar, be it noted, comprehended high as well as low. With Greek he also studied philosophy and medicine. At Padua, on his return, he was welcomed proudly by his countrymen; and from Padua he went to Paris, where he spent several years, and during his residence there composed a book on physiognomy, "*The Conciliator*,"—a work intended to reconcile many discordant opinions on subjects relating to philosophy and medicine, and began a Commentary on Aristotle.

While in Paris, it is said, he began to be accused of using enchantments and magic; and "*The Conciliator*," then written, contains a statement that some persons, unwilling or unable to receive his teaching, had vexed him with long-continued attacks, but that truth, and the authority of the Pope, saved him out of their hands. His notions of truth, however, were those of an enthusiast in something very like star-worship. He would watch for the moon to be in a favourable position, or Jupiter, and would then fall on his knees and pray, *feeling* that a prayer thus offered to God had special power. The citizens of Padua he exhorted to found a new city under some rare conjuncture of the stars that he foresaw, and assured them that thus they might at once escape from their old city, and be delivered from all the evil influences that fought against their prosperity. But they counted the certain cost of such an enterprise, and that consideration outweighed the hope of an uncertain gain. Albano was not alone in this folly, which was characteristic of his time; and while doting on astrology, he conferred a real benefit on Italy, by introducing some rudiments of medical science that were afterwards unfolded. Probably, his more successful practice was

what induced some less fortunate physicians to charge him with magic, while certain speculations of his on some of our Lord's miracles gave people reason to suspect him of heresy.

To rebut the suspicion of heresy he made a solemn profession of faith, and Benevuto da Imola relates that, "when on the point of death, turning towards his friends, and pupils, and the physicians who stood around the bed, he told them that three studies had engaged his attention during life:—philosophy, which had made him subtle; medicine, which had made him rich; astrology, which had made him deceitful. And to show that he harboured no ill will towards the Dominicans, who had always persecuted him, he directed that his body should be buried in their church in Padua. It was buried there accordingly; but the Inquisitors opened his tomb at night, burnt the corpse, and scattered the ashes to the winds. This took place in the year 1315 or 1316.

Harder was the case of *Francesco di Ascoli*, called *Cecco*, burnt to death at Florence in the year 1327. He was Professor of Astrology in the University of Bologna, when yet but a young man, and wrote a book on the principles of that imaginary science. Astrology, therefore, could not have exposed him to punishment; but the sentence pronounced against him by Friar Lambert (December 16th, 1324) sets forth that he had spoken "badly and inordinately of the Catholic faith," and was therefore required to do penance by making a general confession, saying thirty Paternosters and thirty Ave Marias every day, fasting every Friday, and hearing a sermon from some Dominican or Minorite every Sunday. They further compelled him to bring all his books of astrology to be burnt, forbade him to lecture in Bologna or elsewhere any more, either publicly or privately, deprived him of all magistracy or honour, and fined him seventy Bolognese pounds.

Indignant at this treatment, he left Bologna, and

took up his abode in Florence ; but here new troubles overtook him. Some say that he gave offence to the Governor of the city by telling an ill fortune of his wife and daughter ; but it appears more probable that the cause of his disgrace and condemnation was very different ; that he wrote a treatise on the sphere of *Sacrobosco*, or Holywood, a mathematician of Halifax, in Yorkshire, wherein he affirmed that the heavenly spheres are inhabited by races of malignant spirits, which by enchantments might be made to do many wonderful things ; that the courses of the stars necessitate human events, the birth of Christ included, as well as His poverty and death ; that Antichrist would come into the world in obedience to the same necessity.

Monstrous as these assertions were, they were no more than natural consequences of the first principles of astrology ; and it was therefore cruel for the Church to allow professorships of the pretended science in Universities, leaving every one at liberty to teach or learn it, and yet condemn those who used this liberty, so far as to maintain propositions which inevitably result from the pagan fatalism they were encouraged to promulgate or accept.

The Inquisitor of Bologna sent his brother at Florence a report of the sentence pronounced against Cecco in the former city ; and on the 15th of December, 1327, the astrologer was openly condemned as a heretic in the church of the Friars-Minors, and delivered over to the secular authority to be duly punished. A book he had written in verse, under the title of *Acerba*, was to be burnt at the same time, and all who read it were to be excommunicated. On the same day the Governor's lieutenant " forthwith sent Master Cecco in custody of his knight and servants, and in presence of a great multitude of people, to be burnt ; thus to signify the death eternal wherewith he and all such will be punished."

Tiraboschi,* whom I follow, doubts the guilt of

* *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo V., parte i., lib. 2.

Cecco ; and supposes that he fell a victim to the envy of one Dino, who could not rest until he saw his rival put out of the way. This, however, is a question of no importance, since it is enough to have produced this instance of inquisitorial severity, incited rather by private passions than by an honest care for preservation of the faith.

Albano and Cecco, we may also observe, were persecuted singly ; and the latter perished alone. No general inquisition of dogmatizing astrologers was made, nor any crusade preached to extirpate their followers. All this was reserved for dissenters from the dominant Church, who were hunted down like brute beasts ; and thus did the Inquisition ravage Italy, not so much by the ordinary procedure of its tribunals, as by making use of every occasion of political disquiet, and by fanning the flames of cupidity and fanaticism. Dissenters multiplied. Gathered in small companies or associated in considerable societies, many being anxious to learn, and not a few impatient to teach, they incurred persecution which aggravated their discontent and only weakened the Church it was intended to avenge. A Bull of Pope John XXI. (or XXII.), addressed to Brother Lambert, of the Order of Preachers, Inquisitor in Lombardy, alleges that both clerks and laymen are in revolt, joining themselves with condemned heretics in confederacies, societies, and leagues, which they zealously promote by aid and counsel, incurring vehement suspicion of heresy. He commands Lambert to proceed canonically against all persons guilty or suspected, and for their surer punishment to avail himself of all the privileges of his office. This Bull is dated August 21, 1326. A remnant of those who had been driven from Sicily in the preceding century sprang up there again ; and we find Gregory XI. praising the city of Palermo for having bestowed an annual salary of twelve ounces of gold on their Inquisitor, Simon Pureano (A.D. 1375), while he urges the Bishop of Turin to crush a sect

called Bricaraxii, who had multiplied in that diocese. The result of this injunction was not very agreeable to the Inquisition. One Fra Antonio, a Dominican, famous in Turin and the neighbourhood both as preacher and Inquisitor, was leaving church after delivering a sermon and saying mass, on the Sunday after Easter (A.D. 1375), when a party of twelve men surrounded him, plunged their daggers into his body, and left him dead on the spot.

Less than two months before, another Inquisitor had been assassinated at Susa; but the avengers of blood shed by the Inquisition, instead of delivering their countrymen from its oppression, aggravated the evil, by providing the Pope and his clergy with pretence for proclaiming a renewed crusade. Little work, however, remained for crusaders; for the resorts of heretics were broken up in Italy.

The Inquisition now gave its attention to those writings which might contribute to revive the sects it had suppressed. The writings of the kind most widely circulated at that time appear to have been from the pen of Raymund Lully, a native of Majorca, by birth a Jew, and eventually a Franciscan friar. This remarkable man had spent his life in striving to convert the Moors in Africa, and to lay the foundation of Oriental studies in Europe, and fell a victim to his zeal for winning over the African Mussulmans, some of whom stoned him to death. He had composed twenty-one works, philosophical, religious, and miscellaneous, which were too suggestive of new ideas to be allowed to circulate. Nicholas Eymeric, the noted Inquisitor often named in these volumes, presented the books to Gregory XI., praying that they might be examined. Twenty-four theologians, with a bishop at their head, made the examination, and condemned them as containing many things heretical and blasphemous.

This assemblage of censors at Rome confirmed the precedent, as I should suppose, for the Congregation

of the Index subsequently created, and acting in agreement with the Congregation of the Holy Office. But no sooner has the solemn censorship of books begun at Rome, than the censors encounter a succession of writers whose influence no earthly power can resist.

Although the Inquisitors began the work of literary censure and prohibition at this early period, they were not the persons to whom alone such very critical work could be most confidently entrusted. Their butcherly vocation was not favourable to any kind of literary service. It was therefore undertaken by other hands,* and the Popes, perhaps following the Sorbonists and Louvainians, had just a small catalogue prepared condemning about seventy books, and printed in Venice in 1548, being the first thing of the kind which had appeared in Italy. Vergerio wrote in Italian against its impiety and ignorance. In 1552 another was published in Florence, with some errors corrected, and some added. In consequence of Vergerio's attack upon this Index, a third was constructed at Milan in 1554, with the same ill success. In the same year a fourth came to light at Venice, the folly and almost madness of which provoked him to make a new exposure, not this time written in Italian, but in Latin. Lastly, they fabricated a fifth in the year 1559, at Rome. But that fifth attempt, according to Sacchini, was considered too severe, and in 1560 the Pope strictly forbade the controversies it had excited, and called in the aid of Lainez, General of the Jesuits, to encounter heresy by means of controversy in Rome.† But neither was controversy successful there. The conditions of success, fair play, good reason, and a good cause to begin with, were all wanting. Absolute prohibition, therefore, has been the approved method, and immediately after the close of the Council

* *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, by the Rev. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M.A., Chap. II.

† SACCHINI. *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, iv. 10.

of Trent, Paul IV. published the first official Index, prepared by some bishops and learned men of various countries whom the Council had appointed for the work, with his Bull prefixed, bearing date at St. Peter's, Rome, March 24th, 1564. Not satisfied with this performance, Sixtus V. issued a more complete expurgatory, prefaced also with a Bull dated on the 7th before the Ides of March, 1589. This book contains twenty-two rules, of which the *seventh* and the *twentieth*, perhaps the most remarkable, are as follows:—

“*Rule VII.*—The Holy Bible, or any part of it, translated into any living language, even by a Catholic, is never permitted without a new and special license from the Apostolic See; but vulgar (*i.e.* vernacular) paraphrases are altogether interdicted.”

This rule was relaxed gradually, in later Indexes, since it could not be enforced.

“*Rule XX.*—Libraries and printing-offices, wherever they are, must be visited; if in Rome, by the Master of the Sacred Palace, but in other places by the Bishops or other superior clergy, and by the Inquisitors, or at least by such persons as they depute. Packages, also, belonging to persons who expose books for sale in streets or neighbourhoods in cities, or who carry them about to sell in villages, towns, or other places, must be searched.

“But let no books be offered for sale unless a list of them is made out and signed by the authorities abovesaid; nor may any other books than those marked in the list be offered for sale, under such penalties as those authorities may please to fix.

“From the public place, too, which is established for collecting customs and importing goods, the officers of the place shall not suffer books to be taken unless they who imported them, or the booksellers, produce a list certified by those to whom it pertains to examine books, and then obtain a license.

“But the heirs and executors of last wills must not

use the books left by the deceased, nor give them to others to be used, nor let them go out of their hands on any account whatever before they have had a list made by persons authorised, and have obtained a license from the same.

“As for a book prohibited, let all men know that it is not lawful for anyone to tear it or burn it by his own authority, but it must be delivered to the Master of the Sacred Palaces at Rome, or, in other places, to the Chief Clergyman, and the Inquisitor, whose duty it will be to make diligent inquiry of the person who delivers it. But where an office of the Holy Inquisition is not established, and there is a university of studies, the Bishop, with the Dean of the University, must do all this. And whatever books or writings are interdicted from the use of the faithful, neither Jews nor Infidels, nor other such people dwelling or being in Christian provinces or places may have them, read them, buy them, sell them, or carry them away. And whoever shall offend in this matter shall be punished by the aforesaid, according to the gravity of his offence. And moreover, books prohibited in any language are also prohibited into whatsoever language they be translated.”*

* *Index Librorum Prohibitorum à Sixto V. Papa confectus et publicatus; at verò à successoribus ejus in sede Romanâ suppressus.* Edente JOSEPHO MENDHAM, A.M. Londini, 1835.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ITALY.

REVIVAL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Inquisition in Italy was nearly dormant from the time of its last effort in Piedmont, until the reign of Pope Calixtus III., who republished (A.D. 1458) a Bull of Innocent IV., empowering the Inquisitors in Lombardy to publish a crusade, and to confer on cross-bearers against heretics at home indulgencies equal to those which had been granted to crusaders against Mussulmans in the Holy Land. But the spirit of that age had changed; and although the scandal of the Cross was undiminished, and the few confessors of Christ still suffered tribulation in the world, there was in the world a growing indisposition to fight the battles of the priesthood; and many of the more eminent clergy, from the time of the Council of Florence, and the immigration of the Greeks, became more diligent in prosecuting Grecian and Latin studies than in reading the senseless theology of later centuries, or in the censorship of religious books, or making inquest concerning faith.

After several ineffectual efforts to establish a regular Inquisition in the Alps, John, Archbishop of Embrun, a bold yet cautious and persevering man, undertook (A.D. 1461) to extirpate the Waldensian Church by dint of "monitions, exhortations, and injunctions;" but difficulties met him at every step, and he prudently delayed the employment of any violent measures. Eleven years afterwards, a Minorite Friar, deputed "by apostolic authority" to act as Inquisitor in the Valleys, pursued the usual routine, so far as practicable,

and thereby arrived at certain knowledge of the doctrines that multitudes of the inhabitants entertained. But he presumed not to go any further, the whole population being hostile to measures of persecution.

At Rome, however, the purpose to maintain by force the ascendancy of the Papal See, and by force to crush every hostile power that might arise against the Church within her own borders, continued steadfast; and while the Inquisitors were almost idle for want of work to do, or powerless in those places which they would have gladly visited, an important step in advance was taken by the revocation of cases of heresy to the Pope himself for ultimate decision, with reservation of certain offences to be absolved by the Pope only, on payment of office-fees at Rome. One of those reservations is the power of absolution from crimes of heresy, which Paul II. made for himself and his successors (A.D. 1468). The law is to be found in the *Extravagantes*,* is currently quoted by the canonists, may be acted on at present, so far as people can be now found willing to spend money upon absolutions, and was for ages at the foundation of the boasted supremacy and universality of the Inquisition.

The immediate successor of Paul II. was Sixtus IV., a busy, politic, and ambitious Pontiff, whose reign furnishes at least one inquisitorial anecdote, just enough to show how little care was taken of Christianity itself by the most jealous guardians of the Papacy.

Galeotto Marnio, of Narni, a man of considerable eminence for learning, wit, pugilistic powers, and bulk of person, had the good fortune to be favourably remembered by Sixtus, who in his younger days had heard him lecture in the University of Padua. *Galeotto* did not err, like the astrologers, through excess in belief, but was of another class, very numerous, whose fault was unbelief. This man wrote a book on Sacred and Moral Philosophy, in which he maintained that whoever lives according to the light

* *Extravagantes Con munes*, lib. v., cap. ix., tit. 3.

of reason and the law of nature is sure of gaining eternal happiness. The monks at Venice accused him of heresy. His own writing was evidence in confirmation of the charge; and, to borrow the statement of Sanuto,* the Inquisitor of heretical pravity having informed the Signory that one Galeotto Marnio, a learned man, very clever and very fat, then at Montagnana, was a heretic, and one who thought very ill of the faith, demanded of their lordships the secular arm. They therefore commanded him to be arrested and thrown into prison. The Inquisitor said that he had written a certain book which was damnable, and had carried this book into Hungary and Bohemia, where he had many followers. The case having been heard, they condemned Galeotto to be mounted on a scaffold, with a crown of devils on his head,—or high paper cap painted with devils all round,—while the sentence of the Inquisition was read, his book burnt, and he openly censured for what he had said or written against the Church. This being done, he was to be sent to prison for six months, and kept on bread and water by way of penance,—appropriate penance for a high liver. The sentence was executed. A scaffold was raised in one of the squares of Venice, and thereupon were seated the Inquisitor and members of the Board of Inquisition, all in state. Galeotto was led out of prison duly crowned, brought across the square, and presented to their lordships. One of the spectators, as he made his appearance, involuntarily ejaculated, “How fat!” Turning to the speaker, Galeotto answered sharply, “Better be a fat pig than a lean goat.” He showed himself on the scaffold, walked back to prison, and lived well there, no doubt, for a day or two.

Sixtus IV. did for this obese jester what he never would have done for the most virtuous confessor of the Saviour, whom he set at nought. He commanded him to be liberated from prison, received him at Rome,

* MURATORI, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xxii., p. 1206.

declared him innocent of heresy, and covered him with honours. This occurred in 1477.

They were more in earnest when dealing with truly Christian people. The indefatigable Archbishop of Embrun, having watched one-and-twenty years for opportunity, and surrounded himself with ninety familiars, besides many others who aided him secretly, "took new information," by which it appeared that all the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissinière, and many in other valleys, were of "most infamous repute," and vehemently suspected to be members of "the said heretical sect" of the Waldenses. Following out this information, and making the best use of his body of familiars, the Archbishop-Inquisitor ventured (A.D. 1486) to publish what they would call in Spain an Edict of the Faith, commanding all who were conscious of heresy to come with a spontaneous confession within a time appointed. But "they neglected to obey." That monition was published on the eighteenth day of June. It was repeated on the twenty-ninth of the same month, and again on the ninth of July; but none were moved to spontaneous confession. In the month of August, "the aforesaid most reverend Lord Archbishop John commanded all that were suspected—mentioning them *by name*—to be cited to answer for their faith, offering them grace if they would return to the bosom of the Church; but they all contumaciously neglected." On the fifteenth of September the Archbishop gave "letters patent and excommunicatory," on account of their "perfidy and stubborn contumacy." Two days were spent in publishing the excommunication, "which they bore until the sixth of February, 1487, and continued yet much longer contumacious. Among them was one called Angelino Palloni, who now laboured with all his might to conceal the truth with lies. *And this is true,*" as the Inquisitor who made the record * asseverates at the close of every paragraph.

* Given at length by Dr. Allix in his "*Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont.*"

Would that all Archbishop-Inquisitors had been equally timorous or equally humane.

On the Italian side the Inquisition had more power. *Giordano Tertian* was burnt at Susa, and *Hippolito Roussière* at Turin. In the same city *Hugo Champ de Finestrelles* was disembowelled, and his mutilated body exposed to public insult. In one valley three thousand persons were murdered, either slain by the sword, or smothered by fires lighted at the mouths of caves, whither they had gone for refuge.

The report of those butcheries overawed many, no doubt, but it also roused the indignation of every Italian whose spirit was not utterly broken. This was manifest in Brescia, where the Inquisitor Antonio di Brescia, in conjunction with the Bishop or his Vicar-General, condemned some men and women, as impenitent heretics, to be delivered to the secular arm for burning, "and required the officers of the city of Brescia to fulfil the appointed execution; but the said officers,"—I quote from a Brief of Innocent VIII.,—"to the no small scandal of the orthodox faith, refused to minister justice, and execute the said sentences, unless they might first see the processes which had been carried on by the Bishop and Inquisitor." This drew a mandate from the Pope, who contended that as the crime of heresy was ecclesiastical, crimes of the sort should not on any account go unpunished, and he instructed the Inquisitor and Bishop to command the officers, under pain of excommunication, to kill the persons condemned within six days. The Brief was dated at Rome, September 30th, 1486. I do not know the effect of this injunction.

This is not the place to narrate the crusade on the Waldenses in the archdiocese of Embrun, conducted by Albert de Capitaneis, whom Innocent VIII. sent to the Duke of Savoy, as Nuncio from the Apostolic See, to demand troops for the intended massacre. Yet it should be noted that an Inquisitor went with the Nuncio, to represent that institution of the Church of

Rome which, as long as it could, directed the murder of those who were counted as its enemies.

Florence, with its turbulent and uncertain liberty, had not cast off the servility of its ancient statutes, and the civil power still inflicted vengeance on whomsoever ecclesiastical accusers might condemn. But it made a show of independence by employing laymen to take part in the trial of persons accused of heresy. Of this we have a memorable instance in the examination and execution of *Savonarola*. A copy of the process, published some years ago from a manuscript in the Magliabecchian Library in that city,* supplies the following particulars:—

The lords of Florence solemnly elected and deputed “special and prudent men to be commissaries and examiners in their name. Sixteen persons, all Florentine citizens, met together on the ninth of April, 1498, in the presence of Simone Rucellai and Tommaso Arnoldi, Florentine canons, acting in the capacity of commissaries for Pope Alexander VI. by a special commission. These persons proceeded exactly as regular Inquisitors would have done. On the first day they questioned Savonarola, but without torture. On the second, they examined him in the hall over the Bargello prison, “first with words, then with threats, then with torture; and he had, on that day, three and a half stretchings on the rack, twice given.” Then, on eight successive days, they prosecuted the examination “with words and comforts, without any torment or lesion of body.” There is a pretended record of this examination; but as it is known to be falsified throughout, I do not quote it. The attestations are, in the first place, those of Savonarola himself, who is represented as appending to the documents, “I freely confess that I am guilty of all that *is written* above, and in the other twenty-three papers preceding by *one hand*.” But instead of *é scritto*, “is written,” it should be *ho scritto*, “I have written;” and instead

* GIUDICI. *Appendice*, ut supra.

of *una mano*, "one hand," it should be *mia mano*, "my hand." This makes an entire difference, and is a very good example of notarial falsification, which, no doubt, was of frequent occurrence. Eight ecclesiastics, secular and regular, and of various ranks, subscribed at length, as having been present all the time, showing that the Papal commissaries appointed their assessors, ten clerics and sixteen laymen, twenty-six in all. On the 20th and 22nd of May, smaller companies, but similarly constituted, conducted further examinations. The General of the Dominicans and the Auditor of the Governor of Rome, Francesco Romolino, were, on these days, the Pope's commissaries.

It will be remembered by those who have read the history of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, that two of his brethren of the Convent of St. Mark were associated with him, and put to death at the same time; and I cannot refrain from translating the brief notes that close this record of their martyrdom in the cause of Christian liberty.

"On the 23rd of the same May."

| | | |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------|
| "FRA GIROLAMO, | { | At 13 o'clock were degraded, |
| "FRA DOMENICO, | | and then burnt in the Piazza |
| "FRA SALVESTRO, | | of the Signori. |

"The General and Messer Francesco above named gave the sentence desired. Ser Ranieri da San Gimignano.

"The tenor of the sentence was, that the Commissaries Apostolic, having understood that the above-named have committed the crimes narrated above in the interrogatories put to Fra Girolamo on the 20th, and having found them to be heretics and schismatics, and to have preached things new, &c., judged that they ought to be degraded and consigned to, or, rather, left in the hand of the secular judge. And so it followed."

As to Florence, then, a mixed Commission, representing the Pope and the Republic, acted instead of the Inquisition: and, in fact, this is the type of a practical condemnation of the secret system of that tribunal that was continued in the Dukedom of Tuscany until its recent absorption into the Kingdom of Italy, and has been in some degree occasionally realised wherever Romanism has arrogated ecclesiastical predominance over civil power, except in the Papal States, so long as those States continued to exist.

It happened, when the Jews were driven from Spain, and a remnant that survived the perils and waste of transport made their appearance on the banks of the Tiber, that the Pope was pleased to allow them to enter within the patrimony of St. Peter, and live. Some early writers, caught by this appearance of charity in the Pope of the day, compared his conduct with that of Ferdinand and Isabella, to his great advantage; and many, by repeating the encomium then circulated, and perhaps further deceived by a show of comparative lenity in the Inquisitions of the Papal States, have helped to strengthen an erroneous impression that the Roman Tribunal has been distinguished from others by a moderation very nearly approaching to humanity. A fact or two of history, related by one of their great annalists (Bzovius), might remove the false impression.

In the year 1498—very soon after the extension of Roman hospitality to those poor Jews—two hundred and thirty Marranos, or Moors, who had renounced their compulsory profession of the corrupt Christianity of Spain, and were therefore driven from the country, came to Rome, but were soon detected, reported to the Holy Office, and thrown into prisons. At length, however, they once more submitted to repeat their false confession, and were solemnly received into the Roman Church by Alexander VI. If any of them had persisted in refusing to do so, they would have been burnt to death, or left to die in prison. They

preferred to live under the name of "Catholic," and were absolved and reconciled with great ceremony; but an offender of superior station was at that time under discipline in Rome.

Pedro de Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, in Spain, and Major-domo of the Pope, lay in prison, accused of the heresy of the Marranos. Alexander VI. appointed a board of high ecclesiastics to hear and determine on his case. Many witnesses were examined on part of the Fiscal, and no fewer than a hundred and one on part of Aranda. From such a multitude of depositions, the judges could easily gather enough to serve their purpose; and at length, on Friday, September 14th, the day of the Holy Cross, the commissaries laid their summary before the Pope, as Chief Inquisitor, in secret consistory; the honour of being judged in that court being rendered to an officer of the apostolic palace. "Which being heard, Alexander, with counsel of the most reverend lords the Cardinals, deprived Aranda of the episcopal dignity, and of all benefices and offices, and deposed him, and degraded him from every order. The said Peter, being thus deprived, deposed, and degraded, was at length thrown into a chamber of the Castle of St. Angelo, there to endure an imprisonment," that was, of course, perpetual. His theology was probably unsound, but his practices were yet more offensive to that most licentious Pontiff and his court. "He laughed at indulgences," says a biographer; "ate flesh on Friday and Sabbath (Saturday); breakfasted before saying mass; and denied purgatory."

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the first thirty years of the sixteenth, we find little to relate of the Inquisition in Italy, beyond what may be summed up in a few lines.

In Sicily, the King of Spain, then sovereign of that island, endeavoured to introduce the rules of the Spanish Inquisition; * but his emissaries were obliged

* In the year 1477, a Sicilian Inquisitor, coming into Spain, ad-

to retreat; the inhabitants being united in resistance. The spirit of independence had been strong enough in Italy to obtain seats for the bishops, and even for laymen, in the Holy Office; and the *Secret*, perhaps in consequence of their intervention, was not enforced so rigidly as in Spain.

In the Venetian territory, Inquisitors who attempted to act alone could not obtain help of the magistrates, who refused to execute sentences passed without their concurrence; and at Brescia, again, the people, emboldened by the refusal of the magistrates, had, once at least, cut short the matter by driving away the Inquisitors.

Naples, although a realm of Spain, refused, with Sicily, to admit the Spanish Inquisition, or any other tribunal conducted by a distinct body, acting apart from the ordinaries.

Lombardy, Piedmont, and the states of Northern and Central Italy, had been long surrendered to inquisitorial government; and the *aliter credentes*, or persons differing from those of the dominant religion, hid themselves in the mountains, or concealed their dissent by outward conformity to the rites of Romanism; but the habit of concealment having been continued from generation to generation, they must have well nigh lost all truthful and manly simplicity. Nor were they the only sufferers. The confessional and clerical celibacy destroyed morality, while the Inquisition, by provoking a reaction against all that bears the name of Christian, destroyed faith, and induced among the higher classes of both clergy and laity a pagan infidelity. Of this Pope Leo X., although he issued a Bull (A.D. 1513) for the maintenance of orthodoxy in Universities, was in his own person an

vised the adoption of the Constitution of the Sicilian Inquisition in Spain. Afterwards, when Spanish cruelty had been infused into the Sicilian form, it was proposed to give new life thereto by the adoption of Spanish rules.

example; and as for the lower classes, they were pervaded with the grossest superstition. If the censures pronounced by some of the clergy were not utterly calumnious, magic, sorcery, witchcraft, infanticide, incest, devil-worship, and every conceivable kind of abomination, were as familiar to the lower classes as was atheism to Leo X., and lewdness to Alexander VI. Nor could it be otherwise. The natural result of an Inquisition is the extinction of *all* faith, most certainly of that divinely imparted faith which "worketh by love," purifying men's hearts.

Leo X., notwithstanding his admiration of excellence in painters, and his disposition to patronise poets, entertained as profound a dislike of innovation on the doctrine of his Church as became a Pope. Acknowledging, indeed, that learning might be attained by help of books, and that the art of printing might be very useful, inasmuch as many printed books might be had for comparatively little money; and that even profane literature might be skilfully made subservient to the cause of Christianity; he said that a complaint had fallen on his ear that certain masters of the art of printing, in various parts of the world, had printed books, translated from Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, into Latin; and that they had dared to publish others, both in Latin and in vulgar tongues, containing errors in faith, with pernicious dogmas contrary to Christianity, and injurious to the fame of persons illustrious in dignity.

Lest thorns should choke the good seed, and poisonous herbs grow up together with the medicinal, it behoved him to be vigilant. With the approbation, therefore, of the Fifth Council of Lateran, then sitting, he wished to provide an opportune remedy; and that the printing of books might thenceforth be conducted more happily, he determined and ordained "that in all times to come no one should print, or cause to be printed, any book or other writing, either in Rome or any other city or diocese whatever, unless it were first

approved, if in Rome, by the Pope's Vicar and Master of the Sacred Palace; or, in other cities and dioceses, by the bishop, or some other person having understanding* of science. Books or writings proposed to be printed were to be diligently examined by the bishop or his delegate, *and by the Inquisitor of heretical pravity*, in the city or diocese where it was to be put to press, and approved by subscription under their own hand, to be given without fee, without delay, and under peril of excommunication." The penalties of disobedience were to be, loss of the books unlawfully printed, and therefore to be burnt publicly, a fine of a hundred ducats to swell the fund for building the Church of St. Peter, suspension from the exercise of printing for one year, and such other inflictions as the transgressor might incur by contumacy. This standing order was given in a public session of the Council on May 12th, 1515.

This Fifth of Lateran is acknowledged by the Church of Rome to be a General Council: the regulation then made for placing the universal press at the mercy of Inquisitors was adopted by the Council of Trent, is amplified in the Rules of the Indexes of prohibited Books, and Books to be expurgated, and, even lately, it has been cited as the fundamental authority for all such

* A reasonable qualification. But even in the pontificate of Leo X. it must have been easier to prescribe understanding than to administer. Only a few years earlier, when the Prince Giovan Pico della Mirandola had maintained nine hundred propositions at Rome, derived from Chaldean, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin authors, and relating to theology, mathematics, natural history, magic, the Cabbala, and other sciences, real or reputed, the Roman scholars, bewildered by his erudition, surmised that he must assuredly be a heretic. The censors of the Faith laboured hard over his nine hundred propositions, and extracted just thirteen which they thought capable of affording evidence of heresy. The prince was censured as temerarious and suspected. But he presumed, as a temerarious person might presume, to write a defence of himself, and even to put some questions to the Censors. "What," said he, "is Cabbala?" "Cabbala," answered one of the learned Inquisitors, "was a wicked heretic, who wrote against Christ. The Cabbalists are a sect who follow him."

coercive proceedings as the clergy could venture upon in countries where they had any degree of judicial power. It is a part of Canon Law which Pius IX., the present Pope, has declared to be binding on his clergy in the British dominions, and which they were bound to enforce, so far as by their influence or their assumed position they might find it practicable. *So far* they were at perfect liberty to execute their master's pleasure.

This Council did not confine itself to books, but ordained that "all false Christians, and those who think ill concerning faith, *of whatever people or nation they may be*, as well as heretics, or persons polluted with any stain of heresy, or Judaizers, be utterly excluded from the company of believers in Christ, and expelled *from every place*, especially from the Roman Court, and punished with due severity." And it was the pleasure of the Pope and Council that the *relapsed* should be dealt with "*without any hope of pardon or of remission.*"

We now proceed to survey the Roman Inquisition under its assumed character of "supreme and universal," and to observe its rise into a position of central power, absorbing, and even rendering less necessary, the provincial courts.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ITALY.

THE ROMAN CONGREGATION.

At the very same time that Paul III., no longer able to prevent the assemblage of a Council for the Reformation of Christendom, was reluctantly engaged in preparing to convene the bishops and others in a town of the Tyrol, he was quietly preparing a new Inquisition, to be conducted on surer principles, having Rome as its seat and centre of government, and the outermost bounds of the Popedom for its circumference. A comparison of dates demonstrates that at the very same time that the Germans were invited and almost implored to attend the Council, as if to give their advice on the subject of religion, just a quarter of a century after the publication of Luther's theses, and to meet with some concession on the part of Rome, the Court of Rome was fully determined on crushing the Reformation, if it could be crushed, by the systematic employment of all the force at their command. The dates are these:—

1. The Bull of Indiction for the Council of Trent, May 22nd, 1542.

2. A Constitution for the establishment of a Supreme and Universal Inquisition at Rome, July 21st, 1542.

3. The Council was to meet in November of the same year, by which time the new inquisitorial system would be in full action.

4. The Council began its debates—without the Germans—on the 15th January, 1546.

5. The new Inquisition had anticipated every doctrinal conclusion by commencing its deadly operations in Italy in 1543.

Its establishment and constitution must be now described.

The Pope declared in the second document that, from the beginning of his pontificate, he had entertained a fixed purpose to drive away all heresy; but, in spite of all that he could do, bad men still persisted in their wickedness. Nevertheless, hoping that the authority of a General Council might awe them into submission to the faith, he had put off the business of inquisition of that kind of heretical pravity until that day. Why he was that day in so great haste to take the matter out of the hands of the Council, and that in contradiction to the practice of his predecessors, he did not condescend to say; but all the world knows that a majority of the Council of Trent, even under all its Italian influences, could hardly have been found, that would agree to a universal Inquisition, governed by the Curials at Rome, or to any Court of similar pretensions. It is also well known that the Pope's legates at that Council were the men who *proposed* every subject of deliberation, after previous correspondence with Rome, and authority or instructions received thence, determining afterwards to manage the debate, or to stop it when they could not guide; and that the subject of Inquisition was one of the subjects they never ventured to introduce.*

In framing his Constitution, therefore, the Pope lost sight of the Council, after merely observing that it could not yet be assembled; and "lest, while a Council was in expectation, all things should grow worse and worse," and being himself unable to transact all business, especially while under the pressure of so many cares, he named and appointed six cardinals to

* The dislike manifested to the Inquisition in the Council of Trent on two memorable occasions deserves the attention of the studious reader:—once, when an attempt to establish it in Naples provoked an insurrection in the city; and again, when a similar attempt was proposed for the Milanese. Fra Paolo Sarpi, as translated and annotated by Courayer, gives a full view of the subject.—*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, iii., 5; viii., 42.

be Commissaries and Inquisitors-General and Most General (*generalissimos*) in all cities, towns, lands, and places of the Christian Republic, on both sides of the Alps, to act, under apostolical authority, as his delegates. Whoever wandered "from the way of the Lord," and from the paths of Catholic faith *thinking* evil of that faith, or were in any way, or in any degree, suspected of heresy, together with their followers, abettors, or defenders, who gave their aid or counsel, directly or indirectly, publicly or privately, — all persons, of whatever state or dignity, low or high, — were to be subject to their universal jurisdiction. Lest persecution should be retarded, or inquisitorial fury mitigated, lest the clergy in any city, town, land, or place, should interpose to protect their flock from the incursion of Roman robbers, Paul ordained that the six cardinals should act, "even without the ordinaries of places, and act even in causes wherein those ordinaries had a right to intervene." By his own supreme right he declared that the Most General Inquisitors should proceed officially, by way of inquest, investigation, or otherwise; imprisoning all guilty or suspected persons, proceeding against them until final sentence, punishing with due penalties those whom they convicted, and, as was just, taking possession of the property of condemned persons who had suffered death."

The new Universal Roman Inquisition was to have a fiscal, a proctor, public notaries, and other necessary officers, who might be priests, or monks of any order. After they had condemned any priest or other ordained person as impenitent or as relapsed, it would be their duty to require some bishop or other dignitary to degrade him; and in case of disobedience or delay they might compel obedience by ecclesiastical censures. For putting condemned heretics to death, Paul armed them with spiritual power—so far as that power could avail—to command and compel the secular arm to slay the victims whom they marked.

Their new prerogative extended to the appointment of Inquisitors where, and when, and as often as they pleased, to hear appeals and give ultimate decisions,—the graces of absolution and reconciliation being reserved to the Pope himself,—and to cite and inhibit in all parts of the world. Then followed a withdrawal of power and authority from all other judges; which was plainly enough an arrogation to himself and his Commissaries of the power of life and death over the subjects of every sovereign in the world!

Not attributing to Jesuits every plot against Protestants, I cannot but note a statement of the Jesuit historian Orlandini, who appears to describe the origin of this appointment. “Ignatius,” (founder of the order,) “admonished by these troubles,” (the religious awakenings in Italy,) “having found an opportunity of conversation with the Pope, not only related to him how great confusion had arisen at Parma from wicked men, but also how great a stain on the Christian Republic was spreading itself in Venice and at Modena; and pointed out that unless that could be quickly brought to an end, it would overrun the whole of Italy. He also repeated the same most seriously and frequently to many Cardinals, especially to Burgensis and Theatinus, to whom the Pope had committed the care of watching against this pestilence. Moved by their authority, as well as by the deference that he paid to the judgment of Ignatius, and under the influence of great fear lest the poison lingering in the veins should diffuse itself through the noblest members of the Church, the Pope conceived the plan of a sort of new Tribunal, to consist of aged cardinals, excelling in zeal and wisdom, who might make inquest with supreme power on heretics and depraved persons.” * Excepting fits of occasional jealousy, the most perfect harmony has prevailed between the sister societies.

* ORLANDINI *Hist. Societ. Jesu*, pars i., lib. iv., num. 18

To obviate jealousy in Spain against this new Tribunal, the Spanish Inquisition was exempted from the direct control of the Roman Congregation. This exemption was obviously suggested by the known unwillingness of that body to submit to the dictation of the Court of Rome, and by the spirit of national independence that had often been repressed, but was never quenched in the bosom of a true Spaniard. Neither was the direct control of this Congregation necessary in regard to heretics in Spain, so long as the Pope himself, sure to act with the concurrence of his Cardinals, appointed the Spanish Inquisitor-General; and so long as the King and Court of Spain were pre-eminent in enmity toward the Reformation.

The Italian clergy, although nearer home, were not so well trusted in Rome as the Spanish for fighting heretics. Yet the Spanish priests were not so trustworthy as they seemed; for a secret spread of evangelical doctrine had taken place in the parishes and convents of Spain, and was not yet discovered.

Now that inquisitorial powers had their centre within the walls of Rome, new orders were thence communicated to the Inquisitors in the extra-Roman States of Italy. Clement VII. had noted that the friars of Lombardy were infected with heresy, at least twelve years before this time. It was reported to him that they were preaching it openly; and he commanded the Inquisitors to take measures against some of them, as under suspicion of Lutheranism. The clergy of Bologna and Milan, like the corporate bodies of old chartered towns, then enjoyed many exemptions from superior jurisdiction, some granted by Popes, and others, perhaps in order to obtain their assistance against the laity, conceded by Inquisitors; but Paul III., when devising this new Tribunal, had opened the way for its action in Bologna and Milan by abolishing those privileges (January 14th, 1542), under the pretence that preachers in those states had presumed to maintain scandalous and heretical propositions in disputations and in sermons.

To extinguish the memory of old or Jewish superstitions, and to establish the peculiar superstition of his Church more expeditiously in the neophytes, or newly-proselyted Jews, he stirred up the clergy and Inquisitors everywhere to a more vigorous and minute examination into their domestic habits (March 21st, 1542). And he induced Charles V., perhaps in return for the useless gratification of a General Council, to decree the establishment of an Inquisition in Sicily, after the Spanish model (A.D. 1543). The Sicilians at first resisted, but eventually gave way.

The new Cardinal-Inquisitors were not slow in using their powers. Not failing to make inquest on living heretics, as we shall presently see, they sought to make their ground good by silencing the press, which speaks on while authors die. Many books would be destroyed, no doubt, and many more disfigured; but multitudes of books, pamphlets, and letters were circulated throughout Italy, in spite of prohibitions. There were clandestine presses at work in all directions, especially in the northern states. Printers, when forbidden to carry on their business, walked abroad during the years of interdict, like men who had no vocation at home; but their wives, and daughters, and servants, composed the forms, and worked the presses in secret. Books without name of printer or of place were in every hand; and people read them all the more attentively and profitably because they were forbidden. The public, by willing ignorance, covered the printers, and buried the secret. The cardinals fancied themselves omnipotent, except that they were not able to make inquisition in person. Therefore they confided the superintendence of that service to a reverend father, Tommaso Maria di Bologna, Inquisitor over the cities of Ferrara and Modena. They empowered him and his "substitutes" to visit all libraries, offices, churches, monasteries, and private houses, search for books, burn the bad ones, and enforce on all booksellers, printers, officers of customs,

and other delinquents, the penalties of forfeiture, stripes, fine, suspension of trade, imprisonment, or banishment, in proportion to the degrees or the numbers of their offences in contravention of the new order (July, 1543).

It is not improbable that this search after prohibited books was a first measure, perhaps the first, that led to the inquisition on *persons*, of which we have a few examples.

The Venetian magistrates, contented with the singular privilege of superintending the inquisition of their fellow-citizens, gave Rome no cause, by any slackness in the service, to deprive them of that honour. The state of things at Venice is described in a letter to Luther from Baltassare Altieri, an Italian attached to the British Legation in that city. He wrote just four months after the final appointment of the Congregation of Cardinals, in these words: "The fury of Antichrist rages here daily more and more against the elect of God. Many are proscribed, of whom some are said to have gone to the distant provinces, some to Basil and other parts of Switzerland, others into the neighbouring regions" of the Alps; "and many have been seized, and are pining away in perpetual imprisonment. But there is no one to deliver the innocent, none to do justice to the poor man and the orphan, none to maintain the glory of Christ. All conspire together to oppress the Lord and His anointed; and nowhere is this calamity more cruel and prevalent than in Venice itself, where Antichrist is dominant, and, while using open violence, possesses all his goods in peace. Wicked one that he is! Son of perdition; Author of sin! That signal thief and most hungry of wolves slaughters and destroys the Lord's flock at his pleasure, and without restraint. But we cease not to pray God that He would send a stronger than he, who may come and bind him, take away all the weapons in which he now so confidently trusts, and strip him of the spoils."

We further gather from this letter that the preachers had been silenced, but that many of them were concealed in the city, hoping for the effect of intercession by Protestant princes of Germany with the Doge and his government, or for some favourable change, when the promised Council should meet.*

But no help came from those quarters. From the correspondence of the Cardinals Pole and Contarini, we gather that their Eminences had a "sacred piece of work" to do—*sanctum quoddam negotium*, says Pole—at Modena. This is explained by an Italian editor of Pole's Epistles to be the suppression of an insurrection in Modena, provoked by the doings of the Inquisitors there. Father Tommaso Maria did his best, no doubt, and the civil authorities helped him according to the measure of their zeal; but it required an Apostolic Letter from Paul III. to induce them to arrest one whom the Pope described as the leader of an insurrection against his Inquisitor, to throw him into prison, and send up his books and papers to Rome.†

In Tuscany the secular arm was uplifted to inflict the sentences of those ferocious keepers of the faith. Severe penalties were enacted on the possessors of heretical books, as well as on the printers; and after the usual searchings, arrests, and processes, it was determined to edify the Tuscans by an Act of Faith at Florence, resembling a Spanish *Auto*. Twenty-two persons were therefore brought out in procession, wearing the usual apparel of ignominious penance; and it is noted that among them was *Bartolommeo Panchicerichi*, a gentleman who had served the Duke of Tuscany as ambassador at the Court of France. They underwent shameful exhibition in the cathedral; and a company of women, by way of giving diversity to the inquisitorial triumph, appeared in like manner in the church of St. Simon. (A.D. 1556.)

* SECKENDORF, *Comm. de Luth.*, lib. iii., sect. 25, § xcvi.

† GERDES, *Spec. Ital. Reform.*, xxxvii.

But commerce could not prosper and the Inquisition range within the same field. The merchant-city was filled with terror and mistrust. Foreigners, being eyed with suspicion as innovators in religion, and haunted with incessant vexations whenever they appeared in Florence, ceased to frequent a mart where familiars dogged their steps. Their ships no longer gladdened the course of the Arno. The merchants became poor. The inhabitants emigrated. Artists and literary men shunned the halls of the Medici. The more earnest Protestants took refuge in Germany and England; and the less instructed, being left without shepherds, perished for lack of knowledge.

The desperate resistance of the Neapolitans to an attempted introduction of the Roman Inquisition into that city, in the year 1547, furnished a terrific episode in Italian history. The Viceroy endeavoured to compel the citizens to accept the Tribunal by military force. He one day marched a body of three thousand Spanish soldiers into Naples to quell a riot which his proclamation for its erection had provoked. The soldiers fought desperately, but the people were infuriated; and before the bells could ring for evening prayers for the souls in purgatory, the last of the three thousand had fallen, and their bodies, heaped together with a greater number of Italians, choked the streets. This carnage, at the same time, rebuked the brutality of the Inquisitors, and told with what horror and detestation the so-called holy and equitable Roman Inquisition was regarded all over Italy. It was too well known by this time to be thought a shade less diabolical than that of Lisbon or Valladolid.*

By the indefatigable activity of the Cardinal-Inquisitors, headed by the Pope, who required the civil power everywhere to support the Holy Office, Lutheranism, as they called the reviving Christianity of that

* This extremely brief summary does not overstate the issue of a prolonged and desperate conflict. See THUANUS, lib. iii., num. 4; PALLAVICINI, lib. x., cap. 1; PAOLO SARPI *Hist. Conc. Trid.*, iii., 5.

time, died away : and Socinianism, that had been for some time springing up, killed most of the vitality that remained.

In Sicily, Philip II. of Spain outran his predecessor, being swifter-footed for shedding blood ; and the chief men of the island, the very men who, twelve years before, had driven away an Inquisitor, burnt his papers, and beaten his underlings, being now charmed with privileges offered them by the Spanish Nero, themselves became familiars and patrons of the renovated Institution, built prisons at their own expense, and salaried the officers. Vain is the help of man ! Over violence Popery by violence can always triumph, because it knows how to use violence with greater skill. Protestantism, too, when it degenerates into Socinianism, becomes a Christianity so false, that it had better by far die than live.

A few good men, however, survived the wreck of the Reformation in Italy, and were sacrificed one by one. Such were the following :—

Fannio, a pious and learned man, was hung at Florence, and then burnt, on the Pope's demand, in the year 1550.

Dominico suffered violent death at Piacenza, about the same time, praying for his persecutors.

Galeazzo Treccio, after enduring imprisonment and questioning, probably with torture, bore witness to the truth as it is in Jesus, and was burnt alive in a town of the Milanese (A.D. 1551).

Giovanni di Montalcino, an eminent man, once Professor of Metaphysics in the University of Bologna, and a faithful expositor of the New Testament, was burnt alive in Rome (A.D. 1553).

Francesco Gambia, of Brescia, for having joined in an act of evangelical communion at Geneva, was taken, when crossing the Lake of Como on his way homeward, condemned by the Inquisitors of Como, strangled, and then beheaded, and his body burnt (A.D. 1554).

Pomponio Algieri, of Capua, a devout Christian, became known in the Academy of Padua, was arrested and imprisoned in Venice; but, not being a Venetian, was given up to the Cardinal-Inquisitors, and burnt alive in Rome for their entertainment and the pleasure of Paul IV. (A.D. 1555).

Varaglia, a Capuchin friar, Inquisitor, and son of an Inquisitor; one who had signalised himself in killing Waldenses. This man, while striving to make himself master of the controversy between Rome and the Reformed Churches, had been converted to the truth and service of the Lord Jesus Christ, and soon fell into the hands of his former brethren, who burnt him in Turin (A.D. 1557).

Luigi Pascal, an itinerant preacher among the scattered Christians of Calabria, was taken to Rome, condemned by their Eminences, and burnt outside the Castle of St. Angelo in their presence, the Pope presiding at the ceremony (A.D. 1560). This must be the person of whom Sacchini speaks,* calling him a very confident and cunning master of impiety, sent from Geneva to Rome, the chief seat of religion, that there he might vitiate the truth at its fountain-head. He says that the man was taken, put into irons, and condemned to fire. Hardened and stubborn in heart and ears, says the Jesuit, he rejected salutary admonitions and advice. The Governor of the city applied to Laynez, General of the Society of Jesus, to go to him, to convince him of the truth, that he might be saved from eternal fire after *their* fire had consumed him. Laynez went to the prison, and there found some cardinals, a few bishops, and many men of rank, among whom were some relatives of the Pope, whom the Governor had invited to be also present. They could not have been all assembled in the cell; therefore it is most probable that they met in the dreadful hall where prisoners were put to the question.

The Inquisitors had finished their work. The good

* *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, iv., 11.

man was in the power of the Governor of Rome as to his body; and his soul was already committed to the God of everlasting mercy. Laynez, a veteran controversialist, who had debated in Trent, and encountered Beza in the Conference of Poissy, entered into a formal disputation with this poor Waldense. They contended hard; and Laynez, stimulated by the applause of the dignitaries around him, endeavoured to perplex him with a sort of Socratic subtlety. The bishops joined in, and, by ensnaring questions, they tried to make him contradict himself; but he stood firm. Believing in the Son of God, he had the witness in himself; and in that assurance he could rejoice, and be triumphant over death and hell.

In Venice, from time to time, the inquisitorial spies detected members of a secret society of worshippers in that city, a feeble remnant of those whose dispersion was reported by Altieri to Luther; and them the magistrates condemned of course. The usual mode of execution there was by drowning in the sea. Gerdes collects the names of four such who were drowned between the years 1562 and 1567. They were called *Giovanni Guirlanda*, *Antonio Ricetto*, *Francesco Segà*, and *Francesco Spinola*.

The constitution for the establishment of a Supreme and Universal Inquisition at Rome was published, as we have seen, in July, 1542, met in November of the same year, and commenced its operations in Italy in 1543.

The Council of Trent made an imperfect beginning of its deliberations in 1545, and closed them in 1563. During the eighteen years of intermittent action and debates in the Council and in Conciliar Congregations on a great variety of subjects with very voluminous correspondence with many countries, the Inquisition only once engaged the attention of the Council openly, and just proceeded far enough to enable us to judge how far it is likely that such an assembly would in those days have sanctioned its establishment in Italy or anywhere else.

The two chief historians of the Council, Fra Paolo Sarpi and the Cardinal Pallavicini, while differing widely on this and almost every other subject, agree as to the facts, which were too public to be materially disguised on either side.

While some of the French Bishops were considering how they might best conciliate the Huguenots, and the King of France had intreated the Pope to allow communion in both kinds, the Spanish clergy and the King of Spain were devising how they might most expeditiously destroy the Lutherans, and to that end longed for greater support in Italy. Philip the Second, having followed his father in a course of pitiless persecution in the Netherlands, and being actually engaged in the reckless struggle against conscience which was soon to provoke the Netherlanders to declare their country a republic, made a proposal to the Pope Pius IV. to establish an Inquisition in Milan on the Spanish model, with a Spaniard as Chief Inquisitor. The Milanese, he said, were near to many places infested with heresy, and it was necessary to watch over that State with especial care, using every means for the maintenance of religion and the service of God. Rodolfo Pio, Cardinal of Carpi, an inveterate hater of heretics, and opponent of ecclesiastical reform, was engaged by the Spanish Ambassador at Rome to persuade the Pope to accede to the proposal, and was encouraged to render Philip that service by an intimation that, if he succeeded, the King would use his utmost effort to have him elected Pope in the next conclave. Much pleading was not necessary to persuade Pius, who at once laid the proposal before the Consistory. The argument employed in its favour was that such an establishment would be very useful for keeping Milan in dependence on the Holy See.

As soon as the towns of the Milanese heard of this correspondence, they deputed two Cardinals, Sforza and Morone, to go for them to the Pope; Cesare

Taverna and Princisvale Bisotto to the King of Spain; and Sforza Brivio to the Council. Brivio was instructed to pray the Cardinals and the Prelates of this State to take pity on their common country, which was already burdened with excessive charges, and would be utterly overwhelmed under the additional charge of an Inquisition, which would be heavier than all the others put together. He was to represent to the Council that already many persons had resolved to leave the country, because they knew that the Tribunal had seldom in view the good of consciences, but often the confiscation of goods, or other worldly interests, and that if, in the very presence of the King they who were at the head of this Office treated their own fellow-countrymen with so great severity, they would do far worse toward the people of Milan, for whom they cared much less, and where a remedy would not be so near at hand. He was to point out to the Prelates the pain and alarm which the sad intelligence gave them, and entreat them to use all their influence for averting the calamity. This delegate fulfilled his commission very successfully. The Milanese Prelates were moved by these representations so much the more as the clergy had even more reason than the laity to dread this horrible Tribunal. In this view the Neapolitan clergy sincerely shared. They were apprehensive that, if once the dreaded yoke were laid on the State of Milan, they would no longer be able to resist its imposition on themselves, nor could they defend themselves as they had done some years before.

The Prelates of Lombardy then assembled, and resolved to write one joint letter to the Pope, and another to the learned and energetic Charles Borromeo, nephew and favourite of the Pope, Archbishop of Milan, and at that time exerting greater influence over the Council than any other man. They showed the Cardinal that the proposed erection of an Office of Inquisition in Milan would be prejudicial to himself,

since, in quality of Archbishop, he would have to be at the head of it.* To the Pope they represented that there were not the same reasons for establishing as rigorous an Inquisition in Milan as in Spain, nor could he have the same reason for so doing; that besides ruining the State, it would be exceedingly prejudicial to the Holy See, for, as the Inquisition would assume authority over the Prelates, they would have little obedience left for the Pope, but would be compelled to unite themselves closely with secular princes who, by its means, would hold them in absolute subjection. They represented that, if a General Council were at any time held, the Pope would have few bishops whom he could trust, or whom he could freely command. They insisted that no one should believe what the Spaniards pretended, that an Inquisition in Milan would be subject to Rome, after what every man knew Spanish Inquisitors had done in the case of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, and how they had always refused to give Rome the report of his case, which had been demanded of them; and how the Sicilian Inquisitors acted so long as they depended on the Inquisitors in Spain.

Not content with writing these letters, and otherwise using their influence with friendly Cardinals, they proposed to have some words inserted in the decrees of the Council to exempt, or at least to guard, the bishops against the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, and to regulate the manner of inquisitorial proceedings, either in that session or the next. Cardinal Morone, then President, led them to expect some satisfaction.

For the rest, says Sarpi, this accident caused such a great movement in the Council, on account of the great number of persons interested, that some very grave consequences would have followed, but for the news received, a few days afterwards, that the Duke

* This implies that even if it were established it was understood that the appointment of a Spaniard as Chief Inquisitor would not be admissible, much as the King of Spain desired it.

of Sessa, perceiving universal symptoms of an insurrection in the country, and apprehending that the Milanese would follow the example of the Flemings, who, to escape the Inquisition, had left the Church of Rome and adopted the reformed religion, had stopped the ambassadors destined to go into Spain, and promised to employ himself in their favour, since he had come to know that the conjuncture was not proper for such an enterprise.*

* Fra PAOLO SARPI *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, par Pierre François de Courayer, viii., 42.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ITALY.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

NOT least interesting among the objects that present themselves in a survey of Italy at this time, is the terror of the clergy at the Protestant Reformation. Even the efforts made by the champions of Romanism to counteract the evangelical influences that were spreading into Italy from beyond the Alps recoiled upon themselves. The Jesuits did their best to raise a more cultivated race of priests, who might frustrate the labours of the Reformers; but they found it impossible to set the minds of their pupils into action without endangering their orthodoxy. Literary men strove sincerely to clear their country from the reproach of ignorance; but their zeal first exposed them to suspicion of heresy, and then actually drew them into new opinions. Many dignitaries of the Church saw that unless they made some show of reformation of manners, it would be impossible for their clergy to recover the confidence of the people; but when they gave utterance to that persuasion, they spoke so like the Lutherans, that they were suspected of a secret design to betray the cause of their Church to the enemy. In all cases the Inquisition came upon the field, and visited persons unjustly suspected with the penalties intended for the real heretics. Monks and priests often turned away from their over-zealous brethren with fear for themselves, and sometimes not without cause.

When Luther's Theses were condemned in the Bull of Leo X., January 3rd, 1520, and his condemnation and excommunication were pronounced by the same

Pontiff in the Bull of June 16, 1521, work for the Inquisitors was expressly provided. Clause 15 of the latter document is clear enough. The Inquisition is not mentioned, nor was mention requisite. Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates and Chapters of Collegiate Churches, Monks and Friars, were commanded to act for the enforcement of Canon Law against "the said Martin, and his followers and abettors, excommunicated, anathematised and accursed heretics," and to interdict and curse them by name in the most frequented Churches, when the greatest number of persons were present at Divine Service, with the cross erected, bells ringing, candles burning and then extinguished and thrown upon the ground and trodden under foot, stones thrown thrice, and other appointed ceremonies observed. "And also for the greater confusion of the aforesaid Martin and other heretics aforesaid, their adherents, followers and abettors, we command by virtue of holy obedience, all and every the Patriarchs, &c., that as they were appointed for quieting schisms, so necessity being now urgent, and as it is incumbent on their office, they do now set themselves as a wall of defence for the protection of the Christian people, and be not dumb like dogs that cannot bark, but cry aloud without ceasing, lifting up their voice and preaching, and causing others to preach the Word of God, and *declare the Catholic faith against the above condemned and heretical articles.*"

This solemn declaration of the Catholic faith could not be otherwise made than by an *Auto-de-Fé* wherever the Tribunal was established, and the action of the Tribunal was distinctly indicated by a general order for the threefold monition of absent heretics to appear and answer for themselves previous to the solemn act of excommunication. The Inquisition and the Company of Jesus were thus to proceed in concert against the Reformation.

The Roman College was founded by Ignacio de

Loyola in the year 1551 : and a Calvinist, as Orlandini tells us, entered among the first students. How far the statement is correct, one cannot say ; but the tale is curious, and the reader shall have it as it is given.

The nascent Institution, says Orlandini, could not be kept secure against the snares of heresy. Philip Melancthon, and another leader of the German revolt, sent an agent of theirs to study in the house, in order that, by his means, they might acquaint themselves with the internal affairs of the Society, and, if possible, pervert some of the inmates by their " execrable and hateful doctrine." This person, whose name the Jesuit annalist does not condescend to mention, was a fine man, thirty years of age, of noble figure, exceedingly clever, and one that so perfectly assumed an air of obedience to the slightest indication of authority by a superior, and went through the ceremonial devotions of the place with so much apparent piety, that he bade fair to attain the highest eminence, and be one of the fairest ornaments of the Order. " He omitted nothing that was necessary to conceal his own sect, and cover his nefarious intentions."

But being one day employed in keeping the dining-room in order, and having one Brother Oliver for his assistant, he took occasion to talk with the said Oliver when they were alone, with none to overhear them, concerning points of controversy. The two brothers discoursed freely and at length on the use of images, the power of the Roman Pontiff, faith and works, and other topics pertaining to the controversy that was then so rife. Oliver, however, faithful to the obligations of his institute, suffered the Calvinist to talk, perhaps encouraged the conversation, and, in the course of a few days, he had noted down " from his impudent mouth twenty-five destructive articles of doctrine, hateful to Catholics." Possessed of these proofs of guilt, Oliver disclosed the treachery to the blessed Father Ignatius, who instantly took measures for making it known to Cardinal Caraffa, then Inqui-

sitor at Rome. The Cardinal threw the German hypocrite into the Inquisition, did with him what Orlandini does not say, but leaves us to conjecture, and thus extorted confession and compelled repentance. But "that impunity in sinning might not increase licence, Caraffa sent the man to the galleys for life, and bound him to the most shameful benches."*

Of all persons in Rome, not one could be more deeply panic-stricken than Pope Paul IV. The newly-erected prisons of the Inquisition were crowded. Spies prowled about everywhere. The Inquisitors drank in delations as thirsty souls drink in water. Suspicion, however slight, however unfounded, was enough for the suspected person to be shut up from the light of day. None dared breathe a murmur at the severity of the Tribunal, or betray pity for the sufferers, or he would be punished as an abettor of heresy. Even the College of Cardinals trembled; for one of their own number was incarcerated on suspicion of heresy, although he had contended most ardently for the honour of the Church. As for the Roman people, their dread was beyond measure, when they saw the Inquisition take cognizance of matters which had never before come within its jurisdiction.†

It was from personal dislike, if report be true, that the Pope threw *Cardinal Morone* into prison. Morone had been Apostolic Legate in the Council of Trent, and a most eminent advocate of the highest pretensions of the Papacy; but his ungrateful master flung him into the castle of St. Angelo as a state prisoner, and then consigned him to the Inquisition. The Inquisitors were unable, or unwilling, to find him guilty of heresy, and the Pope desired him to come out of prison; but he refused to accept liberty until publicly released from the discredit of such a position by a declaration of his innocence. Paul would not

* *Hist. Societ. Jesu*, pars prima, xi., 7.

† MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia*, anno 1560.

stoop to satisfy this reasonable demand, and the Cardinal remained a prisoner until summoned to the Conclave to take part in the election of another Pope after the death of Paul.

Egidio Foscherati, Bishop of Modena, was made prisoner at the same time as Morone, and perhaps with even greater injustice. The Cardinal may have spoken on matters of discipline with a freedom resembling that of the Reformers, but the Bishop had not so far offended.*

Dr. Thomas Wylson, an Englishman who took refuge in Rome to escape the displeasure of Queen Mary, but who had never actively opposed Romanism, was informed against for having written an objectionable book on Rhetoric, and another on Logic. "For which," he afterwards said, "they accounted me a heretic, notwithstanding the absolution granted to all the realm" (of England) "by Pope Julius III., for all former offences or practices devised against Holy Mother Church, as they call it. A strange matter!

* MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia*, anno 1560. When referring to the most learned, industrious, and accurate Lodovico Antonio Muratori, I cannot refrain from adding a brief note; and am the more disposed to do so as the treatment dealt to this author is by no means singular. While compiling his admirable *Annals of Italy*, he could not help noticing many passages of history which the priests would gladly have buried in oblivion. For this offence the Spanish Inquisitors put him into their Index as an author whose works were to be expurgated. Benedict IV., one of the most respectable of the Roman Pontiffs, wrote to the Inquisitor of Spain an intimation that the works of great men ought not to be prohibited, but disproved; and he instanced the writings of Muratori, as deserving that indulgence. The *Annals* just mentioned were accordingly reprinted in Rome by Giuseppe Catalani, with notes to refute or explain away all passages adverse to the temporal power of the Pope as well as to Romish doctrine. The Roman edition of 1786, with notes meant to be corrective, is the edition that I have used; and I find that instead of extenuating the cruelty perpetrated on these two persons, Catalani fully examined their cases, and, far from denial or extenuation, confirms, and much enlarges, the testimony of Muratori, who confidently appealed to that Pope for protection against the Inquisitor. Such protection was promptly given, and this edition of Muratori is very much enriched by the annotations of the censor.

that things done in England seven years before, and the same universally forgiven, should afterwards be laid to a man's charge in Rome! But what cannot malice do?.....God be my Judge, I had then as little fear—although death was present, and the torment at hand, whereof I felt some smart — as ever I had in my life before. For when I saw those that did seek death to be so maliciously set, to make such poor shifts for my readier despatch, and to burden me with those back-reckonings, I took such courage, and was so bold, that the judge then did much marvel at my stoutness; and, thinking to bring down my great heart, told me plainly that I was in further peril than whereof I was aware, and sought thereupon to take advantage of my words, and to bring me in danger by all means possible. And after long debating with me, they willed me at any hand to submit myself to the Holy Father, and the devout College of Cardinals. For otherwise there was no remedy.”

From the debate Dr. Wylson was taken back to the dungeon, and would probably have lost his life, but the prison was set on fire, the Roman people forced the building open, and released the prisoners alive; and thus he escaped in the tumult, fled from Rome, and, after his return to England, was made one of the principal Secretaries of State, in the reign of our brave Queen Elizabeth.* In that reign other Secretaries of State had, like Dr. Wylson, sufficient experience of the wickedness and danger of Popery to guard this nation against its inroads; but now it would seem as if, without some chastening experience, few statesmen can be expected to follow their example.

With respect to the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome, the great horror which the Romans had of them is easily accounted for by noting the little that we have known of them; and the case now to be related may serve by way of illustration.

* STRYPE's *Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth*, anno 1577.

Fra Tommaso Fabiano di Mileto, a conventual friar of the order of St. Francis, received sentence on the 16th of December, 1564, in the Apostolic Palace, in presence of the Governor of Rome and the Pope's Referendary. The cause had been specially entrusted by the Cardinals, Inquisitors-General, to the Cardinal Borromeo, and the sentence, authenticated by his signature, contains a full account of the offences charged against the friar. *He had believed and held—

That it is not sinful to eat flesh on days when it is forbidden by the Church.—That images and relics ought not to be revered.—That Christ is our only Advocate, and we should not have recourse to saints in our supplications.—That there is no purgatory after this present life.—That indulgences granted by Popes are of no value.—That the Popes who do not imitate St. Peter are not vicars of Christ, nor successors of St. Peter.—That priests cannot bind and loose from sins.—That the Pope has no more authority than a simple priest.—That justification is by faith alone.—That predestination and foreknowledge destroy free will.—That baptism should be administered with water alone, and without ceremonies, as also marriage and the mass without ceremonies.—That confession of particular sins to a priest is not necessary, and that it is sufficient to confess to God.—That holy orders are not a sacrament.—That the host is not the true body of Christ. Besides holding these points of doctrine, he had taught them to others for five or six years past; he had possessed and read heretical books; he had had intercourse with heretics.

Borromeo said that the friar was not obstinate, and that having taken the advice and opinion of his colleagues, the most illustrious and most reverend Inquisitors, he resolved to deprive him of all ecclesiastical dignities and honours; but, inasmuch as, influenced by good advice, the friar had evinced his penitence, the Cardinal absolved him from the censures thus

pronounced, and ordered that he should receive absolution at once, under condition of returning to the Church and doing penance, the form of which penance is described in every particular, including the *abitello*, or penitential habit with a cross. This, it might have been thought, would be accounted sufficient for a forgiven penitent; but after it comes the following dreadful sentence, necessary to satisfy the anger of the Church:—

“And because it is not convenient and just to be zealous only in taking vengeance for offences committed against princes of this world, and yet not to be concerned for offences committed against the Divine Majesty; and also that crimes may not remain unpunished with bad example to our neighbour, it is our pleasure that you be walled up in a place surrounded with four walls,—*che tu sij murato in un loco circondato da quattro mura*,—which place we will cause to be assigned to you; where, with anguish of heart and abundance of tears, you shall bewail your sins and offences committed against the majesty of God, the Holy Mother Church, and the religion of the Father St. Francis, in which you have made profession.”*

So within four walls built up around him, but with sufficient space to kneel down before a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, this poor man was to be confined, and out of that place he was not to stir, but there suffer anguish of heart, and shed many tears. There was no order given for any door, but only four walls were to be built up around him; and from what is known of those structures, we may suppose that a small opening was to be left above, for food to be dropped down to him. Perhaps it would have been called a *little-ease* in England, in the days of Bonner, where the prisoner was to be kept, to putrefy and expire in his own filth. Mr. Gibbings so describes the cell in a carefully-written note.

* “*Case of a Minorite Friar*,” etc. Edited by the Rev. RICHARD GIBBINGS, B.D. Dublin, 1853.

The pit, with a trap-door, and the small cells with skeletons in them, embedded in lime, which Gavazzi saw in the Roman Inquisition, and will be presently described in his own words, were probably a variety of the same secret prison, as used in Italy. The same kind of sepulchre for the living was in use in Spain; and Mr. Wetherell, to whom I am indebted for the Spanish Cartilla described in the Appendix of Vol. I., wrote me the following account of what he had seen in Spain. He says, "I had often heard talk in Spain of the *Emparedados* (or persons walled up), and doubted about them; but at length I saw it. About fifteen years ago (in the year 1840), the building of the Inquisition at Seville, being in ruins, was inhabited by a poor man, with his wife and child. This last, knocking about one of the rooms, moved a brick in the wall, where there proved to be what is called *un zitaron*,* covering or marking a space in the wall about a yard and a half wide by a foot or more in depth. At the bottom of this place were found, *and I saw*, the bones of two persons, which must have been built up in the manner described by Father Gavazzi."

By some means or other, Fra Tommaso, the Minorite,

* *Zitaron* is peggiorative of *zitára*, dropping the Arabic article, which remains in the more perfect form, *azitára*; it is recognised by the Spanish Academy, which in the *Diccionario del Academia* explains it thus:—"A thin wall, like a *tabique* (partition-wall of bricks on edge to divide rooms), built of brick and lime. In some parts of Castilla the thick wall of the sides of the house, not the front, is also comprehended under this name. According to Father Guadix, quoted by Covarrubias, it is an Arabic word, which comes from *zatar*, a division, or covering, and the particle *a* being added, it becomes *azatára*." Now a wall of this kind, whether thick or thin, is not a main wall, is no part of the original structure, and is not necessary to the stability of the building. It may be run up at any time in the basement of a building in front of a main wall, either making one long and very narrow enclosure, or divided into small doorless cells. The victims may remain there to die slowly, or, as Gavazzi saw in Rome, the place being filled up with quicklime or with earth, they may be buried alive or suffocated at once. This done, the *zitaron* could be at any time removed, and not a trace of it remain, nor of the murders done in it.

escaped from his "place with four walls." He might have found a loose brick in the wall, and broken through; or some one of the servants may have pitied him, and helped him to get out. Be that as it might, his effigy was burnt, according to a sentence read on the 8th of November, 1565.

Pietro Carnesecchi was one of the most illustrious victims of the Roman Inquisition. The Italian Princes, sharing in the alarm produced by the Reformation, and fearing lest the doctrines reported to prevail in Germany should lead to a political revolution in Italy, earnestly desired to suppress the new opinions. Yet the Princes did not wish their subjects to be indiscriminately abandoned to the Inquisition, but desired that their own deputies should assist at the processes of the Holy Office. In this view Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany, ordered that the Nuncio should give him an account of such causes as might occur, and that the sentences should not be executed without his consent. The Pope, for his part, thought that the Tribunal, thus held in check, would not have sufficient power to put down innovation, and resolved to take another method for the accomplishment of that object. His method was to strike at the chiefs, in order to terrify their followers; and to draw them from distant states to the Inquisition at Rome, seemed the measure most conducive to that end. He therefore began by demanding individuals to be given up to himself. The Lordship of Venice had led the way of compliance by giving up *Giulio Zanetti*, who had fled to Padua under an accusation of heresy; and the Republic excused itself for an act that was not unlike brutality by alleging that Zanetti was born at Fano, and was therefore a subject of the Pope. Throughout Italy Paul IV. sought after such persons, to the alarm of the people, who broke out into riot at Mantua and some other places.

But to return to Carnesecchi; he was a man of high family and great learning. He had been Protonotary

at Rome under Clement VII., but was, in common with many eminent Italians, a friend of many of the Reformed. On this account he had once been actually in the custody of the Inquisition, but the Duke of Tuscany, using his influence by correspondence with Rome from Florence, managed to get him released. On that occasion Carnesecchi left Rome, went to France, and had communication with the chiefs of the Reform there. Paul IV. then cited him to appear again at Rome; but he came not, and was therefore declared contumacious, and his contumacity became undoubted when his reply to the Papal summons was nothing less than a written attack upon the Papacy. At that juncture, trusting in the friendship of the Duke, Carnesecchi ventured to visit him at Florence; and Pius V., by this time on the throne, commanded the Duke to surrender his guest. The Tuscan would have thought himself bound, he said, to deliver up his own child to the Pope, if so required; and, without a blush, he saw his friend arrested while sitting at his table, and carried away by force to Rome.

On the 16th of August, 1567, Carnesecchi was sentenced to death, having been convicted of thirty-four condemned opinions. The sentence was publicly read to him on the 21st of the month following. Having consigned him to the secular arm, they put on him the *sambenito*, painted with flames and devils. Meanwhile, Cosimo, with remorse for his cowardice and perfidy, strove to move the Pope to compassion, and succeeded in obtaining a respite of ten days before putting him to death, with promise of grace if he would renounce his heretical opinions, and return to the Catholic faith. The Pope also sent a Capuchin friar to exhort him to repentance and conversion to the Church of Rome; but the exhortation was vain. So far was he from conversion that he endeavoured by disputation to convert the Capuchin, and showed that he did not shrink from death. He was then burnt alive. To the last he bore himself with singular con-

stancy. He even chose to walk to the scaffold, as if in pomp, wearing fine linen, and new and elegant gloves, since the *sambenito* did not allow the use of other garments. The ecclesiastical writers, and especially the continuator of Baronius, find great fault with one who wrote that Carnesecchi was burnt alive; and even affirm that the Roman Inquisition never inflicted such a cruel punishment; and some historians, Botta for example, say that he was hanged or beheaded, and only the *sambenito* burnt: but there was no such mitigation of the punishment in this case, and there are authentic records yet extant to demonstrate that he was really burnt alive.*

Extreme terror and consternation followed this murder of Carnesecchi, not only in Tuscany, but in all Italy. Every one only feared for himself, for his relatives, or for his friends. Pleasant and confidential conversation was banished, even from the secret intercourse of families. And the terror extended beyond Italy; for in Italy no nationality was respected. An Englishman, *Thomas Reynolds*, resident or visiting in Naples, had been accused to the bishop, together with three Neapolitan gentlemen; and Rome being now the inquisitorial centre of the world, the bishop sent them all thither. The Cardinals threw our countryman into prison, and laid him on the rack. From torture, and other sufferings in prison, there he died. Many an Englishman has perished in like manner.

There could be no mercy in the Congregation of Cardinals, or, if there were any, not for an English Protestant in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who sternly refused to hold any correspondence with the Pope or his Court, who were using every method possible to put down the Reformation in England. Some time in the year 1581, a Hertfordshire man, named Richard Atkins, full of zeal, travelled to Rome for the

* This is proved by Mr. Gibbings in his *Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi*, transcribed from the original MS., etc. Dublin University Press, 1856.

express purpose of delivering his testimony against Popish idolatry. Coming to the English College there, he knocked at the door, and being admitted, told the students that he came thither to rebuke lovingly the great disorder of their lives, which it was grievous to hear of, and pitiable to behold. He further told them that he had come to Rome to let their proud Antichrist understand that he was offending the Heavenly Majesty, robbing God of His honour, and poisoning the whole world with his abominable blasphemies. He charged the astonished youths with worshipping stocks and stones, and that "filthy sacrament"—the host,—which was nothing more than a foolish idol.

Perhaps they thought him insane, although such bursts of holy indignation were by no means uncommon, and naturally arose from the profound abhorrence which then prevailed in the Protestant world, without which a superficial Reformation would soon have died away. One of the students, Hugh Griffin, a young Welshman, at once delivered him to the Inquisition, but for some reason unexplained, he was detained in custody but for a few days, and then discharged. Shortly after his release, he went into St. Peter's Church, made his way to an altar where a priest was saying mass, and when the priest elevated the host, he dashed at once to the altar, knocked down the chalice with the wine, and attempted to snatch the wafer from the priest's hand. Of course, Atkins was instantly seized, beaten, and would have been stabbed on the spot if they had not dragged him away to prison. There he avowed that he had come to Rome for the very purpose of exposing the Pope's wickedness and idolatry. No further evidence of heresy was wanting, and he was at once condemned to be burnt. The sentence did not surprise him, and he declared himself willing to suffer. During the interval between the sentence and the execution some of the English came to him with the usual exhortations to

repent, but he disputed with them vigorously, sustained his argument with quotations from Holy Scripture, and solemnly prepared himself to die.

They sat him on an ass without a saddle, naked from the middle upward. Some English priests walked alongside, talking to him in their usual way, but, regardless of all they could say, he raised his voice, and in broken Italian told the crowd that they were going in a bad way, and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, to have care for the salvation of their souls. Four men with burning torches went with him all the way, frequently touching his naked body with the fire; but he, with a cheerful countenance, persisted in speaking to the people, bent forward to meet the torches as they were thrust at him, and sometimes took the brand and held it close to his own flesh without shrinking. This continued about the distance of half a mile, till they reached the place of burning. There the Italians surpassed themselves in cruelty, contriving to burn his legs first, instead of letting him be suffocated quickly amidst blazing faggots, as was usual. But he gave no sign of pain, nor of impatience, except that when they offered him a cross, and the English would have had him to embrace it, he told them they were "evil men to trouble him with such paltry when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest." One, John Young, an English Papist, who took part in the murder of his countryman, related these circumstances to two or three Englishmen who wrote his description to their friends at home.*

The name of *Aonio Paleario* has been made familiar to readers of Italian history by the translation of some of his writings into English. That learned and good man, after being driven from place to place during many years of persecution, found a home in Milan,

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, Vol. III., Book I., Chap. 3, and Appendix VII.

as a teacher of Greek and Latin. He was friend and correspondent of many eminent men. Many of the letters which passed between him and them were collected and published after his death. Before the first assembling of the Council of Trent, he wrote an address to the Swiss and German Reformers, under the title of "Testimonies to the Peoples and Nations who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." The work had no signature. It consists of twenty articles, or *testimonia*, against the wickedness of the Pope and Court of Rome, and their clergy; and discloses the corruption of the Roman Church in all its parts. After his death a book was found in manuscript, containing the same twenty testimonies, each followed with a copious exposition. The following note was written on the volume:—*I Aonius, servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, give this most firm testimony with the determination that, if it be necessary, I will not refuse to die for that faith which I owe to Jesus Christ, the author of my peace and salvation.*" The work bears no date, but the original testimonies were certainly written before the assembling of the Council, and we may gather from his other writings that he never equivocated. He was neither priest nor preacher, and it has been conjectured that it was not thought politic to take his life during a sitting of the Council, nor in any interval during the Sessions, or his *testimonies* might have been brought into prominence in the discussions of the Council itself.

After the close of that memorable assemblage, Pius V., then in the Chair at Rome, being, as is notorious, an implacable persecutor, Aonio was imprisoned for three years, and then given to the flames by the Roman Inquisition. His biographer says that Paul IV. protected him from his enemies, who were deterred by their knowledge of the Pope's friendly regard for him from proceeding openly against him. But when Pius V., a Dominican and rabid Inquisitor, came to the Pontificate, he hastened

to kill the author of the Testimonies, and of the admirable treatise on the merits of the death of Christ. Some writers, perhaps not informed of the actual contents of the Testimonies, nor of the other little work, have too hastily attributed his death to the intrigues of enemies. It needed no such stimulant to quicken the anger of the Inquisition; for never did any writer more clearly expose the false teaching and wicked life of the clergy of his day than did Aonio Paleario.

The Inquisitors reported that he had recanted before his death, and was therefore hanged instead of being burnt alive. But that plainly appears not to be the truth. Thuanus distinctly affirms that he was burnt alive at Rome, and so says the Annalist Laderchius. Other writers confirm this statement. A picture,* in what is now a *public* library, in the Episcopal Seminary of Veroli, in Rome, exhibits direct evidence. It is a portrait of Paleario, taken many years before his death, but his name and description were rudely painted underneath in bad Latin, at some time after his death, with a statement that Aonius Palearius, second after Cicero for speaking in

* The authenticity of this picture, when photographed, was formally attested by the librarian, as follows:—

Dichiaro io sotto Bibliotecario della pubblica biblioteca esistente nel Vescovile Seminario di Veroli (Roma), che la presente fotografia di Aonio Paleario venne dal Sig. F. Spina fotografata eseguita in mia presenza sopra un ritratto ad olio esistente nella biblioteca medesima ■ rappresentante Aonio Paleario.—Veroli, 10 Maggio, 1872.

| | | |
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| Il bibliotecario | Comune di Veroli | Prov ^a di Roma—Si certifica |
| Luca Can ^{co} | | essere autentica la di contro estesa firma del |
| Mazzoli | Sig. Canco | D. Luca Mazzoli. |

Per Il Sindaco
Giuseppe Franchi.
Asse

L. S.

L. S.

Roman (*Romè*), being implicated in the errors of heretics, was consumed in fire at Rome, in the year 1569. This appears to be the correct date, although it does not agree with the date assigned to his last letter by a writer now to be quoted.

With the calm dignity of a Christian confessor, he wrote letters to his wife and two sons on the eve of his martyrdom. To his wife he said: "I am now an old man of seventy years, and useless. Our children must provide for themselves by their virtue and industry, and lead an honourable life. God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with your spirit." To his sons, Lampridio and Pedro he gave fatherly counsels, with directions as to some family affairs, and his last earthly correspondence closes with these words to them:—"My hour approaches. May the Spirit of God console and preserve you in His grace. Your Father, AONIO PALEARIO." These letters are dated at Rome, July 3rd, 1570.*

From 1542 to 1559 the Cardinal-Inquisitors had carried matters with a very high hand, and were able to suppress any very strong manifestation of public hatred; but as soon as Paul IV. died, the inhabitants of Rome gave full vent to their abhorrence of the new system. Amidst the uproarious rejoicing which took place, as usual, as soon as the Pope's decease was known, the common prisons were opened, according to the custom, and the prisoners released; but the new prison of the Inquisition was kept strictly shut. Thither the people ran, forced the gates, released the prisoners, and set the building on fire. Then it was that Dr. Wylson escaped, and fled to England. With great difficulty they were restrained from treating the Dominican convent, *della Minerva*, in the same way, and from taking vengeance on the monks, who, beyond

* *Aonii Palearii Verulani Opera recensuit, et Dissertationem de Vita Fatis, et Meritis Aonii Palearii, præmisit* FRIDER. ANDR. HALLBAUER. Jenæ, 1728. THUANI *Hist.*, lib. xxxix., cap. 2.



AONIUS PALEARIUS ALTER POST CICERONEM ROMÆ LOQVENTIA
PARENS HERETICORUM ERRORIBUS IMPLICATUS IGNE ASSUMPTUS
S FIO V SEBENTE ROMÆ PERYT ANNO. MDLXIX.

AONIO PALEARIO.

[See Vol. I p. xi.]

all others, were devoted to the service of the Inquisition. The crowd moved towards the Capitol, broke down a fine statue of the departed Pontiff, knocked off the head, and rolled it in the streets for three days, when they dropped the unvisaged boulder into the Tiber. They would have treated the Pope's body in a similar manner, but it was hastily hidden in a vault. The Commissary of the Inquisition was wounded, and his house burnt down. The arms of the Caraffa family—for it was Cardinal Caraffa who supported the founder of the Jesuits in advising Paul III. to create the Congregation of the Holy Office—were everywhere torn down.

But popular tempests, lull as rapidly as they spring up; and the Cardinals resumed their station without any effectual resistance. They had learnt that the walls of the Holy House were not sufficiently substantial, and in due time the Princes of the Faith fortified themselves within a much more solid edifice. The present palace of the Roman Inquisition, raised by Pius V., bears an inscription to attest the year of its completion, 1569. A letter addressed to Bullinger in 1568 conveys the intelligence that at that time some persons were every day burned, strangled, or beheaded; that all the jails and places of confinement were full, so that there was constant toil in building new prisons; and that Rome, though very extensive, could scarcely hold and keep in custody the multitude of the godly. This Pius V., when Cardinal Ghislieri, was the first man who bore the title of Supreme Inquisitor. He kept it until his death; and his successor, Gregory XIII., became Prefect of the Congregation of the Inquisition,—a title proudly sustained by every Pontiff down to this day.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ITALY.

“ SACRED CONGREGATION ”—GENERAL BUSINESS.

“ BLESSED Father,” said Baronius to Paul V., “ the ministry of Peter is twofold—to *feed* and to *kill*. For the Lord said to him, ‘ Feed my sheep ;’ and he also heard a voice from heaven, saying, ‘ Kill, and eat.’ To feed sheep is to take care of obedient, faithful Christians, who in meekness, humility, and piety, show themselves to be sheep and lambs. But when he has no longer to do with sheep and lambs, but with lions, and other wild, refractory, and troublesome beasts, Peter is commanded to kill them ; that is to say, to attack, fight, and slaughter them, until there be none such left.”* This notion of killing—eating is another matter—was not peculiar to Baronius. Pius V. acted up to it thoroughly ; and, among many butcher-like doings, confirmed all the privileges and graces granted to crusaders of both sexes, by two Innocents, one Leo, one Julius, one Clement, and others of his predecessors, and constituted them a distinct society, for the purpose of helping Inquisitors whenever necessary, and bade them do so without the least scruple or limitation as to means (A.D. 1570). In consistence with this appointment, and about this time, the Bartholomew Massacre was contrived, partly at Rome, during a visit of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and partly by the instigation of the Inquisitors at Madrid. It is not surprising, therefore, that when intelligence of that great crime reached the Courts of Europe, it should have been celebrated by

* *Sententia Baronii Card. super Excommunicatione Venetiarum*. In Villa Sanvincentiana. 1608.

those of Pius V. and his princely familiars, namely, Cosimo of Tuscany and Philip II. of Spain, with public rejoicings and *Te Deums*, whereas it awakened horror everywhere else.

Let us now take note of the proceedings in general of the Sacred Congregation.

They set up an Inquisition in Malta; of which, however, there is little to be told. When Charles V. gave Malta to the Knights of Jerusalem in 1530, it would seem that there was no settled court of Inquisition established in Sicily, of which island Malta had been a dependency, for the Inquisitors at first itinerated, and perhaps on that account the Inquisition is not mentioned in the Charter; but the Grand Master of Malta was required to send traitors and heretics to the Viceroy of Sicily, and the see of Malta was also to continue in relation to the parent state. Then, after the Tribunal was established at Palermo, its Inquisitors required that heretics detected in Malta should be sent across to them for treatment. The Grand Master, Casiera, resisted this demand, and quarrels between the Order of St. John and the Holy Office became frequent and long-continued. This, however, gave the Court of Rome occasion to extend their direct inquisitorial jurisdiction into Malta, so far, at least, as the jealousy of the Masters, and the resistance of the people, would allow (A.D. 1574). * The first seat of the Tribunal at Palermo was the royal palace; its next, the fortress of Castellamare, which was doomed to destruction. For eighty years after its establishment the acts of the “ Modern Inquisition ” are imperfectly known, the records having perished when the fortress—in which were five hundred prisoners—blew up in 1590. †

* VERTOT, *Ordre de Malthe*, liv. xiv. *Malta Illustrata*, lib. ii., nota xiv.

† *Progress of the Two Sicilies under the Spanish Bourbons, from 1735 to 1840.* By JOHN GOODWIN, Esq., Her Majesty’s Consul for Sicily. In *Journal of Statistical Society*.

The diocese of Milan—once boasting independence—bounding on the territories of Reformed Switzerland, was kept under the searching vigilance of the Congregation, of which the acts of a Provincial Synod in 1582 are evidence. For the “preservation of the faith,” that Synod commanded the inhabitants of the province of Milan, — 1. To shun commerce with heretics; 2. And declared it desirable that no person should be admitted into their country who came from lands infected with heresy; or, 3. If that could not be prevented, that no one should be allowed to lodge in a private house, but confined to an inn, or to the house of his agent, if he had one. 4. If any such came into the diocese, whoever received him should give immediate notice of his arrival, and of his habitation, to the bishop, the Inquisitor, or the parish-priest; but no ecclesiastical person whatever should receive him into his house. 5. The stranger was not to enter a church, except at sermon-time. 6. No one was to send his son into a country of heretics, not even for instruction in commerce, while under twenty-five years of age. 7. Nor was any one to go thither without licence obtained from his bishop or the Inquisitor. 8. Such licence only to be obtained on recommendation of the parish-priest. 9. No Milanese might reside even in the neighbourhood of heretics without licence; nor, 10. Sell an estate in order to remove to an infected country; 11. Under peril of being proceeded against according to the Canons.

After these regulations were added others for the government of printers and booksellers, and for the extirpation of Jewish blasphemy and perfidy. The Swiss, on the other hand, were watchful against encroachments on their cantons; and, on one occasion, the Cardinal, itinerating in the cause of the Inquisition, not being considered a safe person, very narrowly escaped imprisonment, and had to make speed back to Rome again. People in those days did

not understand how sickness will get into a country in spite of quarantine.

At Rome the Cardinals bore a high hand, and, in revenge for being forbidden to exercise authority in Protestant countries, cruelly persecuted English and other heretics who ventured to enter Italy, killing some, throwing some into prison, and sending others to the galleys. “Three weeks ago,” wrote the Cardinal D’Ossat, in a letter dated Rome, June 23rd, 1595, “a Fleming was burnt alive in the Campo de’ Fiori, *because he would not be converted.*” About the same time, an Englishman, about thirty years of age, a native of London, met the host in procession, and, filled with that horror and indignation which they only can conceive who have felt the same, as if he had passed into a region of blasphemy, where the people were in open revolt against the Majesty of Heaven, he knocked the pyx out of the hand of the priest who carried it, exclaiming that it was an idol. He must have heard of the horrid punishment of William Gardiner in Lisbon, for striking the chalice and the wafer out of the priest’s hand when massing in the cathedral; but, with the certainty of a like death, he acted. Five days after, as soon as the Sacred Congregation could dispatch the forms, he was led from the prison of the Inquisition back to that spot, where his hand was cut off, and his tongue cut out; then he was scorched with blazing torches, and after being so tormented, they burnt him alive in presence of the people.*

I may now produce documentary evidence of the control exercised by the Cardinal-Inquisitors over all the Inquisitions of Italy, in pursuance of the design which led to the appointment of that Sacred Congregation. Twenty years after that event, a Manual was published bearing date of 1608,—probably there were many similar,—containing “Brief Instructions in the

* MENDHAM’S *Pontificate of St. Pius V.* London, 1822. Page 120.

Manner of treating Causes of the Holy Office, for the Very Reverend Vicars of the Holy Inquisition, appointed in the Dioceses of Modona" (Módona), "Carpi, Nonantola, and the Garfagnana." It was printed in Modena, and bears the signature of F. Michel Angelo Lerri, Inquisitor of Modena. The Manual is very brief, and looks insignificantly small, if compared with the folio of Eymeric and Peña, to which the reader is referred as the standard authority. It is in Italian, for the benefit of the very reverend Vicars, to whom Latin reading might not have been so easy; and repeats the directions which I have compendiated, from that source, in preceding chapters.

Lerri exhorts his vicars to encourage the denouncers of heretics to persevere, heedless of the reproach of being spies of the Holy Office, because they would not be discovered; or, if haply they were detected, they ought not to fear the name of spy, since, in time of plague, men would do anything to stay contagion, regardless of consequences; and for what they do now, in zeal for the Lord, they shall be rewarded in heaven. With extreme earnestness he enforces the usual injunctions on all concerned to observe the most profound secrecy, and instructs the notary how to *disguise* or falsify the summaries of evidence, that the prisoners may not have the slightest clue for conjecturing who has testified against them. As for the methods of extorting self-accusation, he is explicit enough, so far as he goes, but stays at the point where torture would be mentioned, as if he wished it to be employed sparingly by the subalterns, and rather inflicted under his own eye. "Many other things," he writes, "have to be observed concerning the defences of the criminal; but as it is our intention that the cases shall be dispatched in the Holy Office of this city, and that when they reach this stage, and defences have to be made, processes ended, and sentence given, the criminals be in prison here, we add no more." In every case, he reserves to himself the ultimate decision on their reports.

Among the standing directions to the Vicars, there is one to publish, or cause to be published, the General Edict of the Holy Office three times every year in all places under his jurisdiction,—on Corpus Christi Day, on the first Sunday in Advent, and on the first in Lent. They are to send him monthly reports of all their proceedings, omitting no particular, however minute. They are “ admonished that when they have received any information, or formed any process, they are not to speak of it, nor make the least allusion to it, to any one except the notary concerned. If any one comes to ask a question concerning the Holy Office, they are to rebut the question, and reprove the inquirer, telling him that the affairs of the Holy Office cannot be disclosed to any one, and always affirming that they know nothing about it. Above all, they must not allow it to be known who has given information, or borne witness, or they will be severely punished for divulging what is to be concealed ; and of this they must warn their notaries. And if any one comes to ask favour for any criminal, they must answer him vaguely, that his case will be disposed of as early as possible, and such mercy as the Office is wont to use will be shown him. And if any person writes letters on behalf of any criminal, they shall not on any account answer them, except after express permission had from their lord, Pope Paul V.” That is to say, they are to make inquisition on others, but no one is to make it on them.

Clement VIII., be it observed, had said that the judges and officers of the Inquisition were to do everything gratuitously ; and Inquisitor Lerri said something of the same kind. But he appended to the Manual, for the government of his vicars, the table of fees which appears literally translated on the following page. In the Manual, it comes under the head of “ Instructions from the Congregations in Rome.” For payment, he informed them, lands were not to be seized, but the amount of charges might be

levied on fruits and rents.* For being torn from the bosom of his family, for each act of malignant accus-

* " TO THE NOTARY.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| For making out the summary | scudo 1 of gold ; |
| and if the process be long, the labour shall be considered. | |
| For each page of the summary | bol. 4. |
| For each letter..... | bol. 3. |
| For any citation of witnesses..... | bol. 2. |
| For the citation of the criminal | bol. 3. |
| For the decree of defence | bol. 2. |
| For each witness in defence | bol. 6. |
| For any kind of security | bol. 20. |
| For every page of the copy of the process..... | bol. 4. |
| And when a copy of the process itself is not given, for every page of the said process... | bol. 2. |
| For every page of the copy of defensive process..... | bol. 5. |
| For the decree of torture..... | bol. 2. |
| For the torture | bol. 10. |
| For the citation to the sentence | bol. 4. |
| For the sentence | scudo 1 of gold. |
| For the copy of the sentence | bol. 20. |
| For the relaxation (delivery to the stake)..... | bol. 10. |
| For the Congregation | bol. 10. |
| For the visit to the house of the criminal | bol. 20. |

TO THE LORD FISCAL.

| | |
|---|------------------|
| For any witness, at instance of the criminal... | bol. 12. |
| For the torture | bol. 20. |
| For the Congregation | bol. 20. |
| For the visit to the house | bol. 40. |
| For the sentence | scudo 1 of gold. |

TO THE SERJEANTS.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| For the capture of the criminal in the city ... | scudo 1 of gold ; |
| when this takes place out of town, regard must be had to the distance. | |
| For the torture | bol. 40. |
| For the visit to the house | bol. 20. |
| For accompanying the criminal to the sentence | bol. 40 ; |
| and for this regard shall be had to their trouble and danger. | |

"As for the jailor, that is left to the discretion of the Inquisitor ; and in the said list of fees (*tassa*) there is not any mention made of it. That the Inquisitors, or vicars, for the future, may not apply pecuniary penalties for the benefit of the Holy Office, or of any other places, without first giving a statement of the same to the Sacred Congregation of Rome. And this is by order of the Sacred Congregation. And let this suffice for the present," etc.

ation laid against himself, for every stage of suffering, for imprisonment, for torture, and even for being carried to the stake, the victim was to pay. Ruffians and tormentors were to be bought at his own cost, to murder him by piece-meal, and then to keep the secret. Who can wonder after this that assassinations have been done in Italy for hire?

The perusal of these instructions, as of all documents relating to the Inquisition, and of incidental allusions to them occurring in other writings, leaves the impression that it was very active, and meddled with all the affairs of political, domestic, and social life. But it is also certain that popular and tumultuary resistance had given place to another kind of reaction, and that the acts and pretensions of Inquisitors were canvassed in relation to the controversy between the secular and ecclesiastical powers,—a controversy which contributes much to the history of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A memorable quarrel of Paul V. with the Republic of Venice, when he excommunicated the Venetians, closed in a formal reconciliation in the year 1607. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, had an audience of the Pope, who pledged himself that he would not remember anything that had passed; and solemnly appropriated to the occasion a sentiment, if not a sentence, of Holy Scripture. “ *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia*,” said he:—“ Let old things pass away, let all be new.” Then, to assure the Republic that Venice had nothing more to fear from himself, he gave the benediction to all; and the memory of past offences seemed to be wiped clean out: but the chief offenders were not forgiven. Among these, perhaps first of them, were Fra Paolo Sarpi, historian of the Council of Trent, and Fulgenzio Manfredi, his friend. They were both invited to Rome; but *Sarpi* was too wise to be decoyed, and therefore assassins were employed to kill him at home; but he escaped from their hands, alive indeed, but severely wounded. On seeing

that the ruffians were fled, he coolly delivered that memorable piece of wit, "*Agnosco stylum Romanum*;" which may be translated, either, "I recognise the Roman style," or, "I know the Roman dagger."

Manfredi was less wary, and could not resist an invitation to the great city. He left Venice in August, 1608, with a safe-conduct containing a clause that nothing should be done to his dishonour; and that promise was considered necessary, because he was then under suspicion of heresy, on account of some plain things he had written during the quarrel, and some passages in sermons that he had preached in Venice. These offences, too, were much aggravated by his having held friendly intercourse with Sir Henry Wotton, British ambassador to his Republic, and with that admirable Irishman, Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore; and by his "extolling and commending the kingdom of England."

That he might more easily obtain the pardon of their Lord God, as they chose to speak, the Inquisitors made him their prisoner, and coolly declared that the safe-conduct was meant for his *coming*, not for his *returning*. Then, dealing with him as a person who had surrendered himself to them by coming of his own accord,—whereas he had been enticed by flatteries and false promises,—they decreed that he should visit the seven privileged churches within and without the walls of Rome; that for the next five years he should recite, weekly, the seven penitential psalms, with certain litanies, orisons, and prayers; and fast rigorously every Friday during the same period. The Commissary of the Inquisition, seated in state in the palace of the Holy Office, pronounced the sentence; *Manfredi* heard it, kneeling. The penance was easy, although the detention in Rome was tedious, and *Manfredi* hoped to see Venice again in five years' time. But that was a vain hope, for they were artfully leading him to the stake.

"Actually touching with his hands the Holy Gospels



TINELLI.

FRA PAOLO SARPI.

of God which lay in view, he abjured, execrated, and declared his abhorrence of the heresies and errors of which he was adjudged to be very strongly suspected,” and signed a schedule of abjuration drawn up by the Inquisition, in exceedingly ample terms, for that purpose. By attaching his signature to this document, he was made to swear and promise that he would “ never again preach, utter, or put forward, either publicly or privately, similar assertions, nor keep, nor read, either book or writing containing heretical and condemned doctrine; nor do anything by reason of which it might be *possible* to form such a suspicion against him.” Independently of the usual engagements to denounce heretics and suspected persons, and to observe all penances enjoined on him by the Holy Office, which engagements were too broad and too indefinite to be fulfilled by any man, the special obligations of this bond were so framed as to ensnare him daily; and when he recited the minute abjurations and promises, word for word, and, after all, subscribed, “ I, Fra Fulgenzio, with my own hand,” he, in effect, signed his own death-warrant.

Fra Paolo Sarpi, who anxiously watched the proceedings taken against his friend, describes what followed :—

“ Matters passed on with him, sometimes well, sometimes ill, according as he was looked on, till February last (1610), and then, one evening, Cardinal Pamfilio, the Pope’s Vicar, sent some serjeants to apprehend him, pretending that he had done something, I know not what, that came within his jurisdiction. They put him into prison in the Tower of Nona, a common jail. Then they went to seize his papers; and, having looked into them, removed him from that place to the prison of the Inquisition. There they drew up three charges against him :—

“ 1. That he had among his books some that were prohibited.

“ 2. That he carried on correspondence, by letters, with heretics of England and Germany.

“3. That there was a writing, all of his own hand, containing various articles against the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church; particularly, that St. Peter was not superior to the other Apostles; that the Pope is not head of the Church; that the Pope cannot command anything beyond what Christ has commanded; that the Council of Trent was neither a General Council nor a lawful one; that there are many heresies in the Church of Rome; and a great many other things.

“To these charges he answered:—

“1. As to the books, he did not know that they were prohibited.

“2. As to the correspondence by letter that had taken place between himself and those persons, they were none of them declared heretics.

“3. As to the writings that were under his own hand, they were imperfect; and they were not his opinions, but only memoranda for consideration on those points.

“At which answers of his the Inquisition being unsatisfied, they resolved to proceed against him by way of torture; which being intimated to him, he answered, that he was not a person to be put to torture; but, however, they might do as they pleased, for he cast himself upon their mercy. On the 4th of July he was brought into St. Peter's, where there was an unspeakable throng of people; and being there placed upon a platform, his faults were rehearsed, and the sentence passed on him, that he should be excluded from the bosom of Holy Church as a heretic relapsed, and delivered over to the Governor of Rome, to be chastised with a whip of bull's hide, but without fetching blood.*

* Father Paul relates the matter according to his best information; but it appears from the summary, as published by Mr. Gibbings from the original MS., that Manfredi had been *already* tortured, and that torture might have been by scourging. But on the 4th of July he was delivered over in the usual manner to the secular arm, which, in this case, was the Governor of Rome, distinguished, by a legal fiction, from the Pope, his master.

“At this ceremony, which lasted about an hour, Fra Fulgenzio stood with his eyes lifted up to heaven, and never spake a word. People thought he had a gag in his mouth. The ceremony being over, he was conducted to the church of St. Saviour in Lauro, and there degraded; and next morning he was brought to the Campo de’ Fiori,” (the Roman Smithfield,) “and there hanged and burned.”

The words “hanged and burned” may seem to intimate that the penalty of death was mitigated by allowing him to be strangled, and the body burnt afterwards. As I have not the original of Father Paul’s letter at hand, I cannot judge. He was murdered, whether by rope or flame it matters not.* The signature of “R. Card^{lis} Bellarminus” appears as one of eleven Inquisitors who set their hands to his condemnation, and whose autographs appear in *fac-simile* in the valuable pamphlet to which I am indebted for this narrative.

While our King James I. was temporising with Popery, and many victims to his weakness were suffering in Spain and Portugal, an English gentleman was most wickedly consigned to solitary imprisonment until his death, in Rome.

Mr. John Molle, born in or near South Molton, in Devonshire, had travelled much in France, occupied some situations of considerable trust, endured some sharp vicissitudes of war, and after returning to England was appointed by Thomas, Earl of Exeter, about the year 1607, to be governor in travel to his grandson, Lord Ross. He undertook the charge with reluctance, and resolved that he would not go beyond the Alps. But young Lord Ross, whether it was a fancy of his own, or the artful suggestion of another, set his heart on going to Rome, and so strongly was he bent on it that Mr. Molle could not prevent him. Governor and pupil set out together on the journey,

* *Report of Proceedings in the Roman Inquisition against Fulgentio Manfredi.* By Rev. RICHARD GIBBINGS, M.A. London, 1852.

but no sooner had they entered the inn at Rome than Mr. Molle was abruptly seized, carried away into the Inquisition, and without a word of accusation that was ever known, with no form of examination or trial, nor any sentence, he was kept there full thirty years. His perfidious pupil, the young Lord Ross, was feasted and entertained with unbounded civility by the Romans, but there lay his tutor in close prison. Only one person besides his jailors ever saw him, and then but for a single interview in the presence of a priest who watched the conversation. Friends in England, "many and great," sought his release, but sought in vain. England suffered it. When about eighty-one years of age, a faithful confessor of Christ, our venerable countryman was released by death. Dr. Thomas Fuller, who knew his son, relates this, and affirms that in all the time of his imprisonment Mr. Molle never received a letter from any one, nor had any of his friends or relatives the least communication with him. "The pretence and allegation of his long imprisonment was because he had translated Du Plessi's book of the visibility of the Church out of French into English; but besides, there were other contrivances therein, not so fit for a public relation."*

Another notable example of the dealing of the Roman Court and Inquisition with eminent foreigners is found in the diplomatic correspondence of the time. I copy from Winwood's "Memorials," word for word, what they say of l'Abbé de Bois, a distinguished Frenchman. Under date of Paris, November 28th, 1611, M. Beaulieu, secretary of the British ambassador, writes,—

"These honest men," (the Jesuits,) "by their villainous dealings and practices, do more and more draw the hatred and curse of the world upon themselves; and by an accident lately fallen out, which is imputed unto them, they are likely to incur the indignation of the rest of the clergy more than ever; and

* FULLER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, A.D. 1607. 5 James I.

that is in the person of one *l'Abbé de Bois*, a man very famous here, both for his gallant preaching, and for his knowledge in matters of the world; who (upon the coming forth of Bellarmine's new book,* which did put all the world in an uproar) did preach in one of the greatest churches in this town, very fully and effectually, both against the Pope's temporality and the practices of the Jesuits; who, to clear themselves in some sort of those imputations, did by their cunning and artifice draw him afterwards to make in private a kind of recantation, and ever since to hold his tongue against them. Notwithstanding the which, his former deed remaining still *altâ mente repostum*, they found the means, by the Nuncio's allurements, to persuade him to go to Rome, whither he took his journey two or three months ago, carrying with him also some commission from the Queen, whose almoner he is. But now the news is, that they yonder, *luy ayans jetté le chat aux jambes*, have put him in the Inquisition, from whence he is not like in haste to come out. Which act doth exceedingly much offend all the world here, especially those of the clergy; but some think there is a further mystery therein, which I will forbear to relate.”

A letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, British ambassador at Venice, December 13th, supplies what M. Beaulieu forbears to relate :—

“ I doubt not but you have heard ere this of the Abbot de Bois his voyage to Florence and to Rome, together with his surprisal there by the Inquisition, which hath given occasion to very much discourse, both in regard of the violating of the law of nations, he being at that instant an agent for the Crown of France, and authorized with letters of credit, as also by their breaking

* Bellarmine's answer to George Barclay, in which he maintains that the Pope has rightful authority to depose heretical kings. Happy times are the present for their lordships the reviewers, when we authors are not invested, like that cardinal, with inquisitorial powers. If we were, I fear we should be tempted to place some of our censors under discipline.

their word and faith passed to him in a safe-conduct for his passage before his coming toward them. Not long after his arrest, there was one executed in the Campo de' Fiori four hours before day, and suddenly cut down and buried. Which, though it were done of purpose that the French might not be too openly scandalized, for the care of whose reputation they did likewise give out that it was an Italian priest *della Crocetta* that was then put to death; yet could they not dissemble the matter so secretly but that it is frequently written, and certainly believed, that the poor abbot did penance at Rome for the sermons he had preached in Paris against the Jesuits."*

While relating these instances of encroachment on the rights of nations by the Roman Inquisition, which is identical with the Pope and Court of Rome, I would draw attention to a succession of Papal acts which give the Roman Inquisition direct authority within the walls of monasteries and convents all over the world. So long as there exists a Pope with power to act, the authority continues; so long as the Secret of the religious houses and the Secret of the yet remaining Roman Pontiff are equally maintained, and so long, also, as those houses have in our country the inviolability of private dwellings, the inspection of convents, long desired, indeed, but hitherto successfully resisted, should be perseveringly demanded and allowed, as necessary for the protection of the inmates.

Bearing this in mind, note that the Roman Congregation of Cardinals was established in the year 1542, to be a "Supreme and Universal Inquisition." A document† was issued to all the Spanish monasteries in the year 1633 by the Inquisitor-General of Spain, Sotomayor, wherein are recited certain constitutions of Julius III., successor of the Pope who formed that

* WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, vol. iii., pp. 307, 308, 311, 312.

† *Manual de Confesores ad Mentem Scoti*, por el R. P. F. Juan de Ascargota. Madrid, 1764, p. 416.

Congregation, and of eight other Pontiffs after him, especially Gregory XV., who issued seven other mandates in support of the Inquisition; and all this body of persecuting law, with whatever addition to it may have since been made, was to be enforced in England no less than in Spain. This is worse, ten thousand times worse, than any suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, made on an extreme emergency, by Parliamentary authority, as a measure inevitably necessary to enable some public authority to act, under the searching scrutiny of the public eye, for the sake of public safety, that authority being still responsible to the Crown for all its decisions, and amenable to those Divinely-promulgated laws which never can be set aside. In contempt of the *Habeas Corpus*, and therefore in defiance of Parliament, those Papal mandates, essentially and formally inquisitorial, are of course acknowledged in English Convents as having force of law.

A Lutheran, a young man, 27 years of age, called Asuero by the Italian historian, was burnt in Bologna, on the 4th November, 1618.* He was a German, son of one John Bispach, of Serbandmit, in the Archdiocese of Cologne. They found him an inoffensive stranger, sick in the hospital, ominously named *Della Morte*. Angiol Michele Castelari, chaplain of the hospital, discovered by his conversation that his knowledge of religion had been derived from the teaching of the Reformers, and reported him accordingly to a Dominican Inquisitor, who came to his bed-side to examine him, and found him to be “a heretic.” This examination took place about a month after his admission to the hospital, and without delay they carried him off to the prison of the Holy Office. After a lingering process, the Inquisitors confirmed

* *Un Auto-de-Fé in Bologna il 5 Novembre 1618. Documento originale pubblicato con comentario e note da M— G—* (Michelangelo Gualandi) Bologna, 1860.

the chaplain's report by declaring him guilty of heresy some time in March, 1616, he being still sick.

They condemned him for things said against God, the Virgin Mary, the Pope, Indulgences, Saints, fastings, and the Mass, summed up by themselves in eleven articles. The process was sent to Rome, and efforts were made to shake his faith, but he continued firm in what they called his "false opinions." They then sentenced him to be burnt alive, but accompanied the sentence with a promise that if he would repent, he should be pardoned and set free. But he said he would rather die a martyr. The Inquisitor, nevertheless, sent him a form of abjuration to sign, but after having it in his possession for a fortnight, he sent it back, saying that he wished to die a good Christian, and could not abjure his faith. They then prepared to read the sentence publicly in order that it might be executed, and for the execution advertisements were printed, and spectators invited to attend at the church of St. Dominic.

A scaffold being erected for the ceremony of abjuration, the bell rang at twenty of the clock in the morning, and a great crowd filled the church. In the presence of many theologians and doctors, a Notary proclaimed the sentence that he should be chained to a stake and burnt as a most obstinate Lutheran. They then gave him over to the secular arm. Emaciated with disease, and worn out with long imprisonment, he could not walk, and was therefore carried in a chair from prison to church. After the sentence was pronounced, the secular authorities agreed to burn him the next morning; and on hearing their determination, he calmly expressed a wish for *comforters*. The writer of the narrative, Giovanni Martino, then went to the Prior of the Dominicans to consult what should be done to comfort him, and after taking counsel with the chaplain, and the Commissary of the Inquisition, they sent Giovanni Battista Orto, a notable Canonist, to go to him in quality of Comforter, attended with a

train of clergy. The Canon and ten other priests, all full robed, therefore walked in a body to the prison, had him carried to the fire in a chair, sat round the poor German and endeavoured to speak to him in the Latin tongue. Orto began:—*Respondi michi fratres*. “Speak Italian,” said he, “for I can understand that.” What consolation followed we cannot tell, but they closed their conference with an *Ave Maria* and a Litany, and in the *Ora pro nobis* he seemed to join.

But he would not talk much, much less dispute. Now and then he ejaculated, “Jesus! Jesus!” They say he kissed a crucifix, but that is what any devout Lutheran would readily do. That they took for a signal of confession, but he gave no sign, and remained silent, like one fainting in the arms of death.

Having administered their miserable comfort, the Canon and his attendants went to report to the Inquisitors that he had recanted. But it is evident that he made no recantation. On the contrary, when they gave him a paper purporting to contain a summary of his opinions, he declared it to be utterly incorrect, and said “*Non dico piu questo, che voglio morire Cristiano. MISERICORDIA GIESU!*” The “*pui*” might have been added by the Notary. The words can only be rendered, “I say not so. I wish to die a Christian. *Have mercy on me, Jesus!*” They read three Masses in his hearing, and reported him a penitent, but the Inquisitor would not let him communicate.

Finally, “for his great weakness,” they laid him in a chair; porters carried their helpless prey to the fire, and as they bore him through the streets of Bologna he said the Creed, the Miserere, and the Te Deum, and many times ejaculated, “Jesus!” “Mercy!” They chained him to the stake; slowly and clumsily they strangled him. “All judged that he died well in the grace of God.” The Notary closed his record with the prayer—at that time hypocritical, and always useless, *Requiescat in pace. Amen*. “Let him rest in peace.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ITALY.

LEARNED MEN.

STRANGELY mingled and contrasted were the events of the last half of the fifteenth century :— the introduction into Western Europe of the language of ancient Greece; the new art of Printing; the unlocking of treasuries of Greek and Latin Classics; the discovery of new countries; real history and enterprising travel; the literature of Palestine and Arabia; a second birth of sculpture and painting; the novel association of learning and refinement; a sudden quickening of intellect and imagination. Face to face with the enthusiastic students of language, philosophy, and art were the Inquisitors, jealous guardians of what was called The Faith. But this was a misnomer. The clergy rendered a passive assent to propositions which no one was required to understand, nor were there many persons capable of distinguishing between the sublime mysteries of divine revelation and the trifling fables of superstition. The enthusiasm, therefore, which greeted the heralds of newly discovered science, rejected the religion which rested only on human authority, and since the name, and in some degree, the essential truths of Christianity had been presented to the Italians of that age, and to their fathers for many generations under the imperious authority of an ignorant priesthood, ignorant of the first elements of true Christian theology, and forbidden to reason concerning the Dogma they were supposed to teach, there was no real faith in the clergy, nor any cordial submission in the laity. Cardinals and Popes, being least of all men subject to any laws, were least careful

to place themselves under decent restraint, and not unfrequently betrayed their own utter unbelief. Hence Italy was at once distinguished by an excessive admiration of art, an unbounded license of philosophic speculation, and equal scepticism in regard to Christianity.

Early in the sixteenth century, after the sages of old Greece and Rome had nearly usurped the place of Apostles and Prophets, when a new religious awakening rapidly spread over the civilised world, earnest Christianity, when it here and there appeared in Italy, was opposed by Arianism, or by that deeper departure from the true Catholic Faith of the first General Council of Nice which took the name of Socinianism from the brothers Lælius and Faustus Socinus, the latter of the two being the reputed leader of the sect which was propagated from Italy into Poland, where its preachers fraternised with the Jews, as in Italy they fraternised with the Philosophers. A few examples will now show how the Inquisitors in Italy fought against beneficent science, and the hurtful influences of scepticism, just as savagely as they were ever fighting against the saving power of the Gospel of Truth.

We first notice *the Academy of Grillenzone*. Few Italian cities in this century possessed so many accomplished scholars as were to be found in Modena. Four of the most learned cardinals, Cortese, Sadoletto, Badia, and Bertani, were natives of Modena. An Academy sprang up in that city spontaneously,—a mere consequence of the presence and intimate association of persons of similar pursuits, and the hospitalities of Giovanni Grillenzone, a physician, facilitated its establishment. There were seven brothers of the Grillenzone family, of whom five were married, and after their father's death these brothers, with their five wives, and not fewer children than from forty-five to fifty, sat at table in one spacious apartment, the elder sisters waiting on the rest. Giovanni, although not

the eldest brother, occupied the chief place by common consent, and this extraordinary picture of domestic unity and comfort attracted the regards of both citizens and strangers towards the dwelling. But learned men received the warmest welcome. Their parties were numerous, and their conversation imparted a polish to the family itself, which repaid the munificent hospitality afforded to their guests.

Masters who had already taught Latin and Greek, jurisprudence, philosophy, and medicine, in Bologna and Ferrara, as well as Modena, met together in this magnificent mansion; and Giovanni Grillenzoni was induced to devote an apartment to purposes of voluntary study. Two lectures were delivered therein daily, to explain the most difficult passages of Greek and Latin classics. At length it became a custom to close each day with select parties at supper, when those present gave full scope to their powers in brilliant conversation on every subject of public interest. The Reformation, then at its height all over Europe, could not but engage the most intelligent attention, and the various topics of doctrine, discipline, jurisprudence, and public policy that arose, were naturally pursued with earnestness and candour.

In proportion to the advance of a spirit of enquiry thus fostered, was the increase of students, who made the new Academy their centre of opinion; many being attracted from distant parts of Italy to reside in Modena. One of their friends, Ortensio Landi, speaks of an "infinite number of young students of Greek, Latin, Tuscan, *sacred* and profane literature." But, —Tiraboschi proceeds to say,—"while this Academy was flourishing so happily, an event happened that threw it into confusion, and nearly involved it in utter ruin. The heresies of Luther and Calvin, that were stealing even into Italy, now threatened to infest this city also with their poison; and it seemed as if they tended singularly to gain over the adherence of these academicians." Muratori thought that this was a

mere suspicion, induced by a sort of contempt which they manifested towards priests and friars, who certainly gave occasion for contempt. "But, to tell the truth," says Tiraboschi, "there was much more than suspicion; and I shall not be afraid of obscuring the fame of that city, if I relate explicitly what we find in contemporaneous writers."

"We have an account of the whole matter in the manuscript chronicle of Alessandro Tassoni, a writer of those times, of which there is a copy in this Estensian Library. He relates that in the year 1540 there came to Modena one Paolo Ricci, a Sicilian, under the assumed name of Lisia Fileno, who, being regarded as a very learned man, was gladly welcomed in a city where learning was so highly valued. He knew that some persons in Modena were already inclined to favour the new opinions; and to these he discovered himself with freedom, began to gain other followers, and, assembling them secretly in a private house, he there explained to them *his guilty doctrine*; and, at the same time, stimulated by the presumption that is peculiar to innovators, even the rudest members of the congregation, not excepting women, undertook to teach, and to decide freely on the meaning of the sacred Books, wherever opportunity occurred,—in the streets, in shops, and in churches. They disputed concerning faith and the law of Christ; and they all promiscuously lacerated the Holy Scriptures, quoting Paul, Matthew, John, the Apocalypse, and all doctors,—whom, however, none of them had heard."

Some time after these meetings were discovered, the preacher Fileno was arrested by order of the Duke of Modena, Ercole II., and carried prisoner to Ferrara, where, they say, "he made a public renunciation of his errors." But, whatever he did then, the seed he had sown sprang up so largely and so vigorously, "that the members of the Academy noted down every word of the preachers in the churches, commenting so severely on what they said, that

several of them forsook their pulpits; and Cardinal Morone, who was Bishop of Modena, wrote to Cardinal Contarini, under date of July 3rd, 1542, that he could no longer find monks willing to preach there. "The day before yesterday a minister of the Order honestly told me that his preachers would not come into the city any more, because of the persecution that the members of the Academy are waging against them, it being everywhere reported that Modena is become Lutheran."

And indeed the preachers from Dominican monasteries must have felt it a most insufferable persecution, when those keen Italian lawyers sat down coolly before them, taking notes of their absurd harangues, and made them the subject of grave criticism or of brisk sarcastic ridicule.

While Morone and Contarini were in correspondence, and the College Apostolic was moved to horror by the report of a dogmatical conspiracy at Modena, the more liberal Cardinal Sadoletto wrote from Rome to his friend Lodovico Castelvetro, telling of the displeasure felt by the Pope and Cardinals on hearing how the academicians were wavering in their faith. Castelvetro, for himself and his friends, who probably felt more interested in literary pursuits than in discussing questions of religion, returned him an assurance of their innocence, and obedience to the Church. Sadoletto responded gladly to that assurance, rejoiced in their good dispositions, and exhorted them to write a letter to the Pope himself, reiterating the same professions. The best method, however, so the Romans thought, was to draw up a formulary, that all the leading inhabitants and learned men of Modena might subscribe, the suspected and the unsuspected alike, in order that the weight of their example on account of rank or learning might be thrown into the scale against the influence of Lutheranism.

The formulary was drawn up by Contarini. The three Cardinals—Morone, Contarini, and Sadoletto—

met in Modena. The priors and conservators of the city appeared before them on the 1st of September, 1542, and subscribed the document, together with the Cardinals themselves. Then came the dignified clergy of the city, the superiors of monasteries, and the chiefs of the Academy. Thenceforth both city and Academy spared no pains to display their orthodoxy; and when two Franciscan preachers, in the year 1544, seemed to deliver Lutheran doctrine, they were duly punished. But suspicion of heresy was too deep a brand for any such affectation of zeal to wipe away; and the Academy of Grillenzone, deserted through fear, soon fell into oblivion. After that subscription of the formulary, the suspicion seemed to be lulled, but only seemed. It lay unslumbering in the restless bosoms of Inquisitors. The next year one Pelegrino degli Erri obtained the situation of Commissary of the Roman Inquisition, established himself in that capacity in Modena, demanded and obtained the help of the secular arm, and at midnight broke into the dwelling of Doctor Filippo Valentino, a nobleman of the city. Erri suspected Valentino of unsound doctrine; Valentino had suspected Erri of dark intentions, and therefore absconded before Erri came. The nobleman afterwards managed to get an appointment as *podestà*, or magistrate, of Trent: and thus, holding down the secular arm in that city, was less easy to be captured on any light suspicion.

Castelvetro, too, was visited with long-boded vengeance. One Caro, an insignificant poetaster of Modena, who had been stung by his criticisms, vowed revenge. So did a licentious brother of the unfortunate scholar, whose admonitions had become wearisome, long to have him put out of the way. These persons, it was supposed, moved Erri to proceed, and were made use of by him to supply material for a prosecution, when, in 1557, the tempest burst.

Bonifacio Valentino, a canon of the cathedral; his cousin, *Filippo Valentino*, already mentioned; *Antonio*

Godaldino, a printer; and *Lodovico Castelvetro*, were all four commanded to show themselves in Rome. Two of them, Bonifacio Valentino and Antonio Godaldino, were arrested, carried thither as prisoners, and thrown at once into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The others, Castelvetro and Filippo Valentino, regarding themselves as no better than prisoners under observation, went thither at their own expense. Bonifacio Valentino, convicted of Lutheranism, made a public retractation in the church of the Minerva, on the 6th of May, 1558; and on the 29th of the same month, being Whit-Sunday, he was exhibited in the cathedral of Modena, to impress the people there with a spectacle of the same kind. Godaldino, who had sold some good books in Modena, was kept prisoner in the Inquisition, most probably until death.

Favoured by Providence, Castelvetro and Filippo Valentino escaped from Rome, and were therefore condemned and excommunicated for contumacy. As for Castelvetro, it is difficult to understand how he could evade the pursuit of the provincial Inquisitors by concealment, and then elude punishment on discovery; but it was said that he allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Rome under a safe conduct, there to give an account of his faith, and that he went in company with a brother, Giovanmaria, who was also under suspicion. It is related that after undergoing some examinations, and perceiving the tanglings of Inquisitorial snares to be gathering fast round him, he succeeded in escaping out of Rome at night, under cover of the deep darkness that veiled so many atrocities in that most wicked of cities, and in a happy moment ministered the rare benefit of cover to a fugitive. And a fugitive he continued to the end of life. Pope Pius IV. invited him to venture into Rome again, with promise of a kind reception; but, reasonably incredulous, he prayed permission rather to lay his case before the Council then in Trent. The Pope rejected that prayer, it being his will that the Inqui-

sition at his own Court should retain Castelvetro under its jurisdiction. He therefore fled from Italy for a time, but afterwards returned to Chiavenna, and there died in 1571.

A nephew of this eminent man, of the same name, fell into the clutches of the Inquisitors in Venice; was condemned for heresy, having translated into Italian a work of one of the German Reformers; and was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, if not to fire (A.D. 1612). The English ambassador requested his release, and the Senate, complying with the request, and without saying a word either to Nuncio or Inquisitor, set him free.

Giordano Bruno, of Nola, ranked high among the philosophers of his age, as the current biographers tell us, but this may with equal propriety imply the highest praise or the most emphatic censure,* and it is not necessary that the present author should concern himself so much with the personal merits or demerits of the victims of the Inquisition, as with the proceedings of the Inquisitors in his case.

He was born in Nola, in the year 1548, and baptised with the name of Philip. During infancy he was probably nursed with liberal care, and even in early childhood he enjoyed the advantages of wealth and culture, breathing, as it were, the very atmosphere of the Muses, first in the public schools, and then in his paternal palace, where he was well taught in the elements of a liberal education, the groundwork of advanced study. In the tenth or eleventh year of his age he came from Nola to Naples, to be taught the classics, logic, dialectic, and such other branches of learning as were then thought necessary. One of his masters, Teofilo da Varrano, an Augustinian monk, was afterwards known as a great metaphysician. Young Bruno was assiduous in hearing lectures, both public and private, showing a love beyond his age for

* *Vita di Giordano Bruno da Nola, Scritta da Domenico Berti, Firenze, Torino, Milano, 1868. Presso G. B. Paravia e Comp.*

the doctrines of philosophers; but the doctrines of philosophers were not free from the pagan taint contracted in the preceding century.

His avidity in seeking after philosophic novelties must have received a powerful impulse from the Waldenses, fugitives from Piedmont, who flocked into the Calabrian provinces, seeking refuge from a most savage persecution. He heard how horribly their brethren were hunted down and murdered. Thrilled with pity and indignation, he listened to those recitals. For no offence whatever, against any law of reason or humanity they were shut up together by scores. Armed ruffians would drag them out, one by one, blindfold each one his victim, lead him to an open field, bid him kneel down, cut off his head, and then returning to the house, carrying the red sword and napkins dripping with blood, seize, and blindfold, and set others to be killed in like manner, until none were left alive. He heard of one party of victims, numbering eighty-eight. They told him how the old men went cheerfully to die, and how the helpless, terror-stricken youths were dragged away by force. He was filled with sickening horror when he saw the bodies of slaughtered Christians carted away, quartered, and the human remains scattered along the highways, until those ways crossed the frontier of Calabria. Disgusted with a world wherein such atrocities were possible, yet not sufficiently instructed how to escape from such a world, he made up his mind that he would betake himself to a monastery, and there pursue in quietness his favourite studies. He entered into the Convent of St. Dominic, in Naples, and so flung himself, unwittingly, into the arms of those very murderers, chief actors in the deeds of blood. A lad only fifteen years of age, he entered that fraternity, took the name of Giordano, and remained there about thirteen years—A.D. 1563-1576.

His biographer says that after the first year he betrayed an active, fantastic, restless, indocile spirit,

often saying and doing things utterly repugnant to the feelings and habits of friars. One day he gave away all his images of saints, male and female (*Santi e sante*), and kept a crucifix only. The master of the novices drew up a written accusation, but seeing what it would lead to, relented, and tore it up. The stir subsided, and in the year 1572 he was ordained priest. After this ordination he spent a short time in several Neapolitan convents, not staying anywhere, but giving full scope to his thoughts, and laid little restraint upon his utterances. His notions, they say, were Arian, or semi-Arian, such opinions having become rife in the kingdom, as we too well know they were, and this exposed him to an accusation more formidable than the first.

When eighteen years of age, as they report, he began to doubt the principal doctrines of the Church—they do not say of the Bible, that not being the Romish rule of faith,—not only of the Trinity, but the personality of the Godhead “*and the real Presence*,” and became a Pantheist, quoting the well-known verses:—

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

Æn. vi. 724.

He denied the incarnation of our Lord. His imagination became licentious, as his comedy “*The Candlestick*,” published ten years later, witnesses. Being now a priest, the Inquisition proceeded against him the more vigorously, and having an intimation of the impending danger, he fled from Naples secretly, and escaped to Rome, where he arrived during the nuptial festivities of Giacomo Buoncompagni, of the family of Gregory XIII., Cardinals and Ladies (?) sitting at table together. Thither the prosecution for heresy followed him, and thence he fled about the midsummer of 1576, his flight being probably hastened by the

affair of Carranza.* Having put off his monastic habit and resumed his baptismal name, he escaped secretly, and wandered over the country, not knowing whither he went. At last he came to Genoa, and thence after three days, took ship and landed at Noli, where he found some employment in teaching children grammar, and instructing adults in "the Sphere." Soon again he is found at Turin. He presented himself at the gate of Turin sad in countenance and oppressed in spirit. Feverish and emaciated, covered with rags, the sentries drove him away as one infected with the plague. "Although his name was famous far and wide, and on his head glittered the double crown of poetry and philosophy, he was forced to go begging for a morsel of bread." From Turin to Venice,—from Venice to Padua. Then at Breccia, where he met with a monk suddenly turned prophet, who professed himself a great theologian, learned in all languages. Some people thinking the man who could know so much must be possessed with an evil spirit, had thrown him into prison. Bruno heard of it, went to the prisons, saw the man sobered by the rough discipline of the place, and reported that he had cast out the evil spirit, and turned him into an ass again, as he had been from the beginning. After some more wandering Bruno came to Milan, where he found Sir Philip Sydney, made him his friend, made his way out of Italy, and, for a short time, settled at Geneva about the end of 1576.

Clad as a Dominican friar, he enters Geneva, and takes his lodging at an inn. The celebrated Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico, son of Carlantonio Caracciolo and a lady of the family of Caraffa, sister of Pope Paul IV., hearing of the arrival of a stranger in such a garb, called on him and made his friendship. Caracciolo, now an "evangelical" persuaded Bruno to join with himself and other Italians who had seceded from the church of Rome. Changing his dress, he

* Related above, Vol. I., chap. xvi.

appears as a layman, accepts their friendship, and attends in their congregation. On the Sunday, as Bruno afterwards confessed when examined by the Inquisitors, he went to hear a preacher named Balbani, who expounded St. Paul's Epistles to the Italians, and "preached the Gospels,"—perhaps making a practical distinction between teaching and preaching, according to our Lord's instructions. "Being also desirous to know what and how much the innovators knew who had gained predominance in that city, he also attended at the sermons delivered by other pastors in the French language." But he never joined either the Italian or the French Reformed.

At this time he was framing a philosophical monotheistic system of his own, founded on the conception of a being or a principle which he would describe as the Infinite and the One; a system derived from reason, not from revelation. From that time he described himself as a philosopher by profession, and was so extremely tolerant of all religions that he appeared to have no religion of his own. According to the report of his examiners, he confessed that he despised the theologians at Geneva, called them pedants, and said that his reasonings and disputes with them were on philosophy, not theology. Going yet further, he condemned all religions, as teaching people to trust without working, and called the religions of his time not *reforms* but *deforms*. He was disgusted with the severity of Calvin and the murder of Servetus. Referring to the profession of their religious belief which Cardinal Contarini had drawn up and Sadoletto had caused the people of Modena to sign, he observed that Calvin had done the same at Geneva, although in an opposite sense, and imprisoned some Italians who refused to sign. When required to give his opinion concerning some eminent persons, he spoke with great admiration of Elizabeth, Queen of England, whose energy and uncompromising adherence to her principles in opposition to the Pope he lauded highly.

From the documents relating to his examination by the Inquisitors in Venice, and published by Berti, I make the following summary :—

May 23, 1592. One Giovanni Mocenigo, “by obligation of my conscience,” as he says, “and by order of my confessor,” delates Bruno to the Father Inquisitor of Venice.

May 25. Mocenigo comes again with further information.

May 25. Giovanni Gabrielli the Inquisitor endorses the denunciation.

May 26. Gabrielli presents the paper to the Holy Office.

May 26. On a separate leaf the same day (Tuesday) the following is written, (in Italian) Signor Matthew De Avantio Capitaneus of the Council of Ten, appeared in the Holy Office, and reported thus :—“On Saturday, at the third hour of the night, I took into custody Giordano Bruno da Nola, whom I found in a house opposite St. Samuel, where dwells the most excellent (*clarissimus*) Ser Zuane Mocenigo : and I have imprisoned him in the prisons of the Holy Office; and that I have done for this Holy Tribunal.”

May 26. The bookseller Giambattista Ciotto is summoned to appear before the Tribunal of the Holy Office. He deposes.

May 29. Giacomo Bertano, bookseller from Antwerp, resident in Venice, tells what he has known of Bruno in Frankfort, Zurich, and Venice.

May 29. Bruno himself is interrogated. He relates his acquaintance with Mocenigo. This man wrote to him from Venice to Frankfort, inviting him to come to Venice to teach him all he knew, especially about astrology and magic, with his philosophy, offering him ample compensation. He came after some time, lived in his house and was treated very kindly. At length, when he had received full information of all his particular opinions and speculations, he professed to be discontented because he had not learnt more,

and when Bruno wished to close his engagement and depart, Mocenigo shut him up, as if to detain him and extract more knowledge. This provoked remonstrance. Then the confinement became close custody, and at last the officer of the Inquisition took him at night, and carried him away. He tells them the story of his life without disguise.

May 29. More information in writing from Mocenigo.

May 30. Bruno proceeds with the narrative of his life, and offers to submit his writings to the Pope.

May 31. In obedience to an order of the Inquisition of Venice, Fra Domenico da Nocera, a Dominican Friar, sends in writing a report of a conversation he has had with Bruno.

June 2. A further examination of Bruno as to his philosophy. At this examination, the Pope's Nuncio, the Patriarch of Venice and the Father Inquisitor are present. The examination is continued later in the day.

June 3. The examination is continued. Bruno is now sworn to tell the truth.

June 4. The examination is continued, and Bruno is sworn again. He is sent back to prison.

June 23. One Don Thoma Mauroceno is questioned on what he knows of Bruno.

June 23. A further report from Ciotto.

July 30. Bruno is again interrogated. They ask him to tell more. He wishes to return to the Church, asks pardon of his judges, and prays for life.

September 17. The Cardinal of St. Severino has written to the Venetian Inquisitor, requiring Bruno to be given over to the Governor of Ancona. The Tribunal commanded Bruno to be sent thither as soon as possible,* to be sent forward thence to the Tribunal at Rome.

September 28. "The Patriarch (of Venice), with the members of the Tribunal of the Inquisition at

* *As soon as possible* implies delay, or indecision in the College. After eleven days' delay, the ecclesiastics repeat the demand for extradition.

Venice, come to the college and demand the extradition of Bruno, as the author of heretical works, and heresiarch. This demand is made by order sent from Rome, through the Cardinal of Sanseverino. *The Prince (Doge) answers that that shall be thought upon, and the Patriarch shall hear."*

The Inquisitor comes again the same day, but is told that the matter has not yet been taken into consideration.

October 3. The Senate writes the Ambassador that it would prejudice the authority of the Tribunal of Venice to allow the extradition of Bruno.

October 10. A memorandum from Rome that this answer shall be remitted to the Ambassador Ordinary, who will reply.

December 22. The Nuncio comes to the College to insist that the case of Bruno belongs to the Holy Inquisition, and should therefore be remitted to Rome. The Procurator Donato and the Nuncio dispute.

January 7, 1593. Another Procurator (Férego Contarini) is consulted by the College on the question, and he inclines to think that Bruno should be sent. The College gives way to the Pope, "from a desire to gratify him."

January 9. The Ambassador at Rome is informed of the decision accordingly.

January 16. The Ambassador at Rome writes a pleasant letter for the Pope from Rome to the Doge.

So Venice, half laic and half cleric, makes a stand of ceremony and then gives way. The Pope is master after all, and Bruno, whether at Rome or at Venice, is the victim. By way of Ancona he will be conveyed to Rome. He has been nearly one year a prisoner in Venice, and will be more than seven years immured in Rome, kept without need of any further trial, until it shall please their Eminences to put him to death. The final sentence was read in Santa Maria on the Minerva, in presence of the members of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, with the Commis-

saries, the Assessors, the Consultors, the Doctors, and the Theologians. The Governor of Rome was there, imbecile shadow of the ancient Roman, and a great crowd of spectators. The usual summary of heresies was read, and the usual sermon preached. On the 9th day of February, in the year 1600, Bruno was led to the very spot where, fifteen years before, he had found refuge when in flight from Naples. There sat, in the congregation of Inquisitors, Deza, Spanish Inquisitor-General, Bellarmine, and Baronius, and, among those of lower degree, many of his own old companions. He was brought into the presence of his judges wearing his habit as a Dominican, covered with a *sambenito*. They bade him kneel, and then read over him the fatal sentence, which he heard in silence, giving no sign of emotion. Then followed the process of degradation, which needs not be described, the judges pronouncing with one voice the accustomed form—"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our own authority, we take from thee the clerical habit; we depose thee; we degrade thee; we deprive thee of every ecclesiastical order and benefice." When they had finished, he looked sternly at them, and replied, scornfully, "You feel greater fear in pronouncing these words than do I in hearing them." As the last syllable escaped his lips, they handed him over to the Governor of Rome, who bade the City Guard to take him from Santa Maria to the public prison. There they allowed him to remain for eight days before the execution, but he gave no indication of any change of mind, or likelihood of change. He betrayed no fear of death, nor dread of burning. He had no martyr-triumph, no exulting hope of glory, but a disgust of life. He had often expressed an apprehension that he would be killed for his opinions, and often said that he must expect such a death and meet it without shrinking. His friends in London remembered how he had once exclaimed, "Do thou, O Courage (*animosità*), fail not with the voice of thy

enlivening favour, often to sound this sentence in my ear—

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

‘Yield not to bad men, but go and face them bravely.’” He had been reserved until the Jubilee, that his death might add a feature of interest to the festivities. Not fewer than fifty cardinals were in the city. The streets of Rome were thronged with people. Long trains of pilgrims, in the costumes of many countries, went in procession from church to church to fulfil their vows, and to get indulgences from Purgatory. Cardinals, princes with their pomp moved amidst the crowds, and from time to time the Pope himself would be seen with his equipage, full of exultation. From the church of the Minerva issued a party of priests preceded by a crucifix, guarded with a strong body of soldiers, and having in their custody the Philosopher of Nola, in the cloak with devils and flames painted. They led him to the Campo di Fiora, where stood a lofty stake sunk firmly in the ground, with faggots laid around it. They bind him hastily to the stake, pile up the wood, set it on fire. The flames blaze fiercely. They hear the crackling thorns, but Bruno utters no cry. Smothered and consumed, he leaves no testimony to soul-sustaining truth—utters no hope of heaven. That was a Roman Jubilee. No offence forgiven, no debt cancelled, no prisoner released. But the horrid tribunal was, no doubt, satisfied.

If this terrible Tribunal of the Roman Faith had chosen to watch over the morals of Italian literature, and had especially directed its vigilance towards the poets, it might have moderated the licentiousness of that class, and the impure imagination and correspondent immorality of the Italian people; but it did not. Vice might take its course, and the confessors would greedily collect the profits; but as soon as ever a religious poet raised his voice, the Inquisitors were on the alert, listening for heresy, that they might put

him to silence. Such a poet was *Gabriello Fiamma*, a canon of the church of the Lateran, and Bishop of Chioggia. From childhood he was an ardent student, and early became a popular preacher in the chief cities of Italy. Princes employed him in affairs of great importance. There is nothing that we know of to entitle him to be considered evangelical, but his offence was earnestness; and it was not through any good-will of the Inquisitors that he escaped the torture-chamber and the dungeon. That they did their best to bring him thither appears from a letter of his own, written in Naples, where he was preaching Lent sermons (A.D. 1562). "In my last," he writes, "I told you of the success of my labours, which have been infinitely applauded by the public in general, but by some malignant and envious persons are ill-rewarded, as you may already know. And this I have been made to feel. Last evening, by order of the Cardinal Alessandrino," (soon afterwards Pope Pius V.,) "all my manuscripts were seized, every book noted, and even the least scrap of paper in my possession. This is no grievance to me, as the order comes from that worthy and most religious lord, and from the most Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition; but I am indeed sorry that occasion for this has been given by some malevolent and envious persons." Of course he writes in this manner of the Inquisition in view of the possibility that his letter may be intercepted, and fall into the hands of his enemies.

The case of *Galileo Galilei* is too notorious to be passed over without very distinct notice. This eminent man was born in Pisa, on the 15th of February, 1564, and was therefore in the seventieth year of his age at the time of his last trial, which took place in the months of April and May, 1633. Urban VIII., by the fires he had kindled in the squares of Milan, was already the terror of Italy; and public dread was by no means diminished when men saw that the Inquisition not only meddled with religious opinions, but

extended its action into the domain of natural science. In Florence, still a great city, in spite of the persecution that spoiled its commerce, Galileo taught mathematics, under the patronage of the Grand Duke. During many years he had endeavoured, both from the professorial chair and by the press, in Pisa and in Rome, to prove that the earth revolves around the sun, and not the sun around the earth. The friars declared his theory to be absurd, false, and heretical. The Holy Office caught this rumour of heresy, and the Congregation of Inquisitor-Cardinals at Rome, by command of the Pope, required their consulters to report on the writings of Galileo. Their sentence was condemnatory, of course; and Galileo was summoned to Rome, there to receive the censure, or endure the consequence. He went. Cardinal Bellarmine called him into his presence, and commanded him to abandon the suspected "doctrine" under pain of imprisonment, and never more to teach it, either by word or by writing. He promised, and the Sacred Congregation appeared satisfied. But Galileo could not keep his promise. He applied himself to the composition of a Dialogue between three persons; one in doubt, a second addicted to the Ptolemaic system, and a third believing the Copernican. He trusted that, by venturing an hypothesis rather than propounding a theory, he might escape the charge of dogmatising. The interlocutors merely inclined to the speculations of Copernicus; and the author feared not to present himself at Rome, and ask licence of the Master of the Sacred Palace to print the Dialogues. And by special intercession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany he obtained it.

But no sooner did his book see the light, than the monkhood was in an uproar; and the Congregation were on the point of condemning the Master as a heretic for having given the licence. To Urban they pointed out that the Tuscan philosopher had caricatured the Pope himself in the person of "Simplicius,"

the Peripatetic ; and His Holiness kindled into wrath against the insolent contemner of the Apostolic Chair. Galileo was then summoned to present himself before the Holy Office in Rome, within the month of October, 1632. Thither he prepared to go, poor, old, sickly, and appalled with thoughts of the fate of Carnesecchi ; but, overwhelmed with fear, he fell sick, and appeared to be on the point of death already. Nicolini, Ambassador of the Grand Duke, interceded earnestly with the Pope for a prorogation of the cause, and physicians certified that he was unfit to attempt to travel from Florence to Rome. The Cardinals treated the certificates as untrue, and insisted on his appearance. The Grand Duke Ferdinand, being reminded of the perfidy of his predecessor, Cosmo I., towards Carnesecchi, at first refused to give him up ; but the Grand Duchess Cristina, ruled by priests, implored her husband to gratify the Church by surrendering the heretic.

What next happened cannot be so accurately related as by his own pen ; and I therefore translate as closely as possible from a letter addressed by himself to a friend, and published from the autograph by Tiraboschi.

“ After the publication of my Dialogue, I was called to Rome by the Congregation of the Holy Office ; arrived there on the 10th of February, 1633 ; was subjected to the extreme clemency of that tribunal, and of the Sovereign Pontiff, Urban VIII., who, nevertheless, thought me worthy of his esteem, although for my part I knew not how to return him the loving Epigram and Sonnet. I was arrested in the delightful palace of the Tuscan Ambassador. Next day the Commissary Lancio came to see me, took me away in his carriage, put various questions to me as we drove on, and appeared very zealously to wish that I should repair the offence I had given to all Italy by maintaining this opinion of the motion of the earth ; and

for all the solid and mathematical reasons I could adduce he had no reply to give but, '*Terra autem in æternum stabit, quia terra autem in æternum stat:*' 'But the earth shall stand for ever, because the earth for ever stands as the Scripture teaches.' Thus discoursing, we reached the palace of the Holy Office. This palace lies on the western side of the magnificent church of St. Peter. The Commissary immediately presented me to my Lord Vitrici, the assessor, with whom I found two Dominican friars. They civilly intimated that I must produce my reasons in full Congregation [of the Cardinals managing the affairs of the Inquisition], and said that I should have opportunity of pleading for myself in the event of being considered guilty. On the Thursday following I was presented to the Congregation, and there endeavoured to establish my proofs; but, unhappily for me, the proofs were not understood; and, try what I could, it was beyond my power to make the Congregation understand them. With outbursts of zeal, quite irrelevant to the matter in hand, they tried to convince me of the scandal I had caused, and harped upon the same passage of Scripture in proof of my offence. Meanwhile a scriptural reason occurred to me, and I alleged it, but with little success. I said that it seemed to me that certain expressions occur in the Bible that agree with ancient belief concerning astronomical sciences; and that perhaps the passage in Job (xxxvii. 18) may be of this kind, where it is said by Elihu that the heavens are solid, and polished like a mirror of brass. It is evident that here he speaks according to the system of Ptolemy, which modern philosophy and right reason demonstrate to be absurd. And then, if so great stress is laid on the standing still of the sun at the word of Joshua, to show that the sun moves, it is but fair to pay some regard also to this passage, where it is said that the heavens are many, each one like a polished mirror. The conclusion to me seemed very just; but it was always evaded, and

I got no other answer than a shrug of the shoulders, the usual refuge of one whose only persuasion is that of prejudice, or preconceived opinion.

“At last, as a true Catholic, I was obliged to retract my opinion, and by way of penalty, my Dialogue was prohibited; and after five months I was dismissed from Rome, and, as the pestilence was then raging in Florence, with generous pity, the house of the dearest friend I had in Siena, Mgr. Archbishop Piccolomini, was appointed to be my prison; and in his most gentlemanly conversation I experienced so great delight and satisfaction, that here I resumed my studies, arrived at and demonstrated most of my mechanical conclusions concerning the resistance of solids, and some other speculations.

“After about five months, when the pestilence had ceased in my native place, in the beginning of December in the present year, 1633, His Holiness permitted me to dwell within the narrow limits of that house I love so well, in the freedom of the open country. I therefore returned to the village of Ballosguardo, and thence to Arcetri, where I still am, breathing the salubrious air, not far from my own dear Florence. Farewell.”*

* Tiraboschi, tom. vii., lib. ii.; tom. viii., lib. ii.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ITALY.

DE DOMINIS.

AN Italian Archbishop, "a most crafty broker in matters of religion," as our jocose Fuller calls him, makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the Inquisition. I shall not hastily agree with Fuller in his estimate of this personage; but whether he was a hypocrite or a sincere convert when he joined the Church of England, it is indisputable that the Cardinals displayed consummate cunning in decoying him into their power, and persecuting him even to the grave.

In the year 1616, in the reign of James I. of England, *Marcantonio de Dominis*, who had been fourteen years Archbishop of Spalatro, in Dalmatia, in the Venetian territory, came over to England, and presented himself in the character of a convert to the Protestant religion. A dispassionate consideration of his entire history will perhaps lead to the persuasion that he was really disgusted with Romanism, shared in the Venetian antipathy to Rome, and thought well of the English Reformation; however defective he may have been in that earnest and self-denying piety which is necessary for any man to bear himself with unwavering consistency through evil report and good report. He had quarrelled with Pope Paul V. and the Roman Rota on a question of money, was worsted in the contest, abandoned the see of Spalatro, and went into the Netherlands. Perhaps his republican associations may have for the moment disposed him to a kindred ecclesiastical system; but he found Presbyterianism in practice quite uncongenial with his long-

established habits and real principles, and therefore left those congregations, and came over to London.

Incredible multitudes of people flocked to look upon the foreign Archbishop, come over to make an offering of his dignity in honour of the Reformation. Impoverished as he was by the abandonment of his revenue in Dalmatia, it appeared right to supply his wants; and prelates and peers, with characteristic delicacy, presented him with gifts of high value. "He was feasted wherever he came; and the Universities, when he visited them, addressed themselves to him in their solemn reception, as if he himself alone had been an university." The King rejoiced that Rome had lost such a jewel, fallen to the crown of England. As if to compensate at once for the defection of many English youth, tolled out of our Universities into Italy, there to learn treason and heresy at the same time, hither came an aged and distinguished prelate, unsought and unexpected, and worth more than all those novices together. His Majesty consigned him to Archbishop Abbot for present entertainment, until he could be provided with suitable accommodation in the Church of England; and sent him, as an earnest of royal bounty, a splendid basin and bowl of silver. The basin, as De Dominis interpreted, to signify that he must wash away the filth of the Roman Church; and the bowl, to invite him to drink of Gospel purity.

While at Lambeth, he assisted in the consecration of some English bishops. Preferments followed. The Dalmatian Archbishop received the deanery of Windsor, "one of the genteelest and entirest dignities of the land," the mastership of the Savoy, and a good parsonage in Berkshire. Fuller descants, in his accustomed style, on the affluence and magnificence of his new condition, and relates anecdotes to show that the stranger was avaricious and overbearing. Perhaps he was: an ecclesiastical change by no means implies a spiritual conversion.

De Dominis now applied himself with great diligence to the correction and completion of works he had begun in Italy, but could not publish there without incurring the vengeance of his Church. "His works, being three fair folios *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, gave ample testimony to his sufficiency. Indeed, he had a controversial head, with a strong and clear style, nor doth a hair hang at the nib of his pen to blur his writings with obscurity; but, first understanding himself, he could make others understand him. His writings are of great use for the Protestant cause."* Yet Fuller, who cannot speak without laughing, laughs at him for saying that in reading, meditation, and writing, he was almost pined away; whereas "his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression." Fat as his cheeks might be, he was no idle man, as those works testify, and others written after them; in all which he vigorously attacked the Papacy, and produced a profound sense of discomfiture at Rome.

Meanwhile, the same craft that had entangled Manfredi was prepared to take De Dominis, and measured its appliances by the magnitude of the object to be attained. Calumny is the ready missile ever launched by the Inquisition after fugitives. Count Gundemaro, Spanish Ambassador at the Court of London, undertook to vilify the illustrious convert; and one day, stung, or pretending to be stung, by a playful repartee that escaped his lips in an unguarded moment, the Spaniard repaired to King James and volunteered to detect the hypocrisy of this Italian. English clergymen — perhaps themselves not quite exempt

* One of his publications in England was a very early impression, or perhaps a reprint, of the original Italian of the History of the Council of Trent by Fra Paolo Sarpi, of Venice. He gave offence, however, by suppressing the name of the author, and put a pseudonym, *Pietro Soave Polano*, on the title page. He prefixed a dedication to King James. The impression is said to be very correct. The ecclesiastical guardians of the Spanish Customs expressed their appreciation of the work by stealing it from my luggage in Cadiz.

from the infirmity they spied in the stranger—already began to regard with envy the aspirant after dignities and emoluments which ought not, as they conceived, to be conferred on an Italian; and they found nothing more easy than to exhibit his weaknesses under the most unfavourable aspect. They provoked him to resent petty indignities unworthy of themselves as Christians and gentlemen, and the more grievous when contrasted with the headlong admiration at first lavished on him by themselves; and, having thrown him off his guard, reported his indiscreet expressions. No doubt he gave utterance to feelings of disappointment, and even of disgust. Observing this, Gundemaro reported to his master the King of Spain that, if the Pope would make an overture of pardon to De Dominis, it would be readily accepted.

One of the Cardinals wrote to Gundemaro, informing him that Gregory XV., mindful of old friendship with De Dominis, forgave and forgot all that he had written or done against the Catholic religion, and on his return would prefer him to the archbishopric of Salerno, worth twelve thousand crowns yearly; and hinted the probability of a red hat in addition. Conditions, however, were enclosed, which De Dominis would subscribe if he accepted the proposal. The bait was taken. He wrote his name. Gundemaro went again to the King, and showed him that signature in proof of the double-dealing of the man whom he was employed to ruin. But there was no double-dealing on part of the Archbishop; for instantly on receipt of the Pope's overture, he wrote a letter to King James, by which it appeared that Paul V. had previously sent messages to the same effect, and that he was allowed to imagine himself an acknowledged agent for "advancing and furthering the union of all Christian churches," — a vain idea, often encouraged by King James himself, and weakly cherished by many prelates and clergy of the Church of England ever since the Reformation. He therefore

asked permission to quit the kingdom, honestly avowing correspondence with Rome in these plain words: "If my business proceed, and be brought to a good end, I will hope that I shall obtain Your Majesty's good leave to depart, without any diminution of Your Majesty's unwonted favour towards me."

James I., who had himself carried on secret correspondence with the Pope, ought not to have been too severe on this ecclesiastic; but he treated the resignation as an offence, sent a party of bishops to examine him, and soon afterward appointed a formal Commission to try him for changing his religion again, and corresponding with the Pope. Archbishop Abbot, who presided on that occasion, commanded De Dominis, in the King's name, to quit England within twenty days, and never to return again. "To this he promised obedience; protesting that he would ever justify the Church of England, as orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the Pope, or whomsoever, *though with the loss of his life*."

Distressed with misgivings, he left England, but not until he had made an ineffectual effort to induce the King to revoke the sentence, and allow him to remain. Six tedious months he waited in Brussels for a safe conduct, but none came; and at length, desperately trusting in the friendship of Gregory XV., because that Pope was formerly a companion of his own, he ventured to Rome; abandoned unjustly, as he thought, by his too hasty English friends, and at the same time marked as a heretic by the Inquisition.*

Bzovius, a bigoted Dominican, busy in the compilation of his *Annals*, was lodged in the Vatican when De Dominis returned to Rome, and took so great interest in his history as to insert it in that work, without any regard to the order of chronology.† I

* FULLER'S *Church History*, book x., Cent. XVII., A.D. 1622. COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii., book viii.

† BZOVII *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 1479. Num. 11—25.

avail myself of his narrative to describe more particularly the sad conclusion. According to Bzovius, the Inquisition had cited him to appear at Rome within six months, on hearing of his flight from Spalatro. He was therefore, while feasted in London, a fugitive from Rome, and no more than a fugitive, although invited back for a bishopric and a cardinal's hat. Still he lay under the ban of the Holy Office. His books condemned, himself excommunicated, and deprived of all dignities, benefices, and offices, he was doomed to suffer punishment according to the Canons. But when Gundemaro intimated that he was willing to renew his connection with Rome, it became desirable to keep this condemnation out of sight; and perhaps Gregory XV., not privy to the dark scheme of the Inquisitors, thought that he was exercising mercy, when he welcomed back one who would appear as a returning prodigal. The archbishopric of Salerno was promised, but it came not, nor yet the dignity of Cardinal. They gave him a house, indeed, and servants, and allowances for the maintenance of a considerable train, together with a liberal ecclesiastical pension. He seemed so richly provided, although not intrusted with any church or charge, that some elder brothers complained of the excessive bounty wasted on this prodigal, they being far more worthy. But "it was meet that we should make merry and be glad," said Gregory; "for this your brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."

Gregory died; and his successor, Urban VIII., was not bound by promises, nor influenced by good-will. The ecclesiastical pension and the residence were not discontinued, but no pains were spared to criminate him. Every word and action was watched most searchingly. A printed paper describing him as a *penitent* was in every person's hands, but a thousand tongues pronounced him a heretic relapsed. Reports of malicious words and contemptuous gestures attributed

to Pope Gregory's prodigal circulated everywhere. Many took occasion to talk with him on religion; men pretending great friendship and liberality villainously drew him off his guard. These persons related that he gave no signs of penitence or modesty, but seemed like one exulting in a triumph. To one of them, Cardinal Barberino, if Barberino told the truth, he spoke proudly of the honour shown him by the Cardinals; and this Cardinal boasted again of having made him an ironical reply: "No wonder. For not only with angels in heaven, but with men on earth, there is joy over one sinner that repenteth." They said that he was not ashamed of the errors he had abjured on his return to Rome, and that he talked much of a Concordat that ought to be made with Protestants. "As if," cries Bzovius, "there could be communion between light and darkness, or concord between Christ and Belial." Religious, pious, and prudent men, says the annalist, admonished him. They reminded him of his escape from the detestable society of heretics, his written abjuration, and a yet unfulfilled promise to publish an elaborate confutation of his own writings. But if ever he made such a promise, it was more than he could be willing, perhaps than he was able, to perform.

Still he went on talking of "that abominable union" between the Churches of Rome and England, and then again depreciating the authority of Councils in general, and of the Council of Trent in particular. All that he said might be true, but such talking was forbidden, even to greater men than he, and therefore the Inquisitors had all made ready to their hand. They now interfered, arrested him, sent him to the Castle of St. Angelo, sparing *his rank*, not *him*, from incarceration in their own dungeons. They say that he was intending flight when taken, but that in St. Angelo he enjoyed every comfort, and every mark of honour consistent with his condition as a prisoner. After his arrest, the Inquisitors took possession of his

papers, and found writings which they described as full of heresy, with proposals of indulgence to Protestants, and a notion insisted on that the Decrees of the Council of Trent, being mere acts of discipline, might be revoked. And they further say that, even within the walls of St. Angelo, he boldly persisted in advocating the same "execrable concord;" which, however, was just what he protested, in England, he meant to do. Although bodily in Rome, they said, his heart was still with the heretics. And so, indeed, it seemed to be.

Amidst this controversy he fell sick. The Pope, says Bzovius, treated him kindly, sent him food, and commanded his own physicians—the very last men whom a prisoner could wish to see—to attend on him. A Cardinal paid him visits, and so did some officers of the Inquisition. It is said that, in their presence, he confessed and abjured the heresies of which he had been guilty, gave signs of repentance, and received the sacraments; rendering thanks to God that *the pressure of imprisonment* had given him occasion to think seriously of the salvation of his soul, and to see the light which he had formerly been so blinded as not to perceive. This done, he expired.

No one who has acquainted himself with the value of evidence given by Inquisitors can attach much credit to this account of the last hours of De Dominis. The Romans could not believe that he had died a natural death; and therefore, to silence all calumnious reports, physicians of various nations, says Bzovius, went to examine the corpse. Fuller learnt from relatives of the deceased in Venice that the examiners were four sworn physicians of the Pope, who made some kind of inspection of the corpse, and on their oath deposed that "no impression of violence was visible thereupon." It was easy to assert that the Inquisitors had not smothered or stabbed him, but an assertion that they had not poisoned him would not, in Italy, be so readily believed; and although the

rumour of poison was hushed, the Inquisitors were not content with having induced people to keep silence. They directed the body to be buried out of sight; but they compelled four of his relatives, then in Rome, to appear before themselves, and then invited them to plead in justification of his religious opinions. Those persons came, indeed, but durst not plead for him, and thereby convict themselves; and in their silence the Inquisitors arrived at their own conclusion.

“Then, on a day appointed (December 21st, 1624), at early dawn, so great a multitude thronged the church of St. Mary above Minerva, that the gates had not only to be shut, but barricaded, and the approaches to the place were choked with people, so that the Cardinals themselves could scarcely pass. The grand nave of the building was partitioned off with boards above the height of a tall man on both sides, from the first pillar to the fourth. At each end of this enclosure Swiss guards kept the entrances. Temporary galleries at the sides were filled with cardinals, dignitaries, and courtiers. On the right side of the chief entrance sat the Sacred Senate, and on the left the ministers of the Holy Inquisition, and the Prefect of the city, with his officers. Before the pulpit was exhibited an effigy of Mark Anthony (*De Dominis*), dressed in plain black, with a clerical cap in its hand, and a paper whereon was written his name, surname, and former title as archbishop. There, too, was a wooden coffin, smeared with pitch, containing the corpse itself. Beyond this enclosure, a crowd of people filled all parts of the building, in order to catch if it were but a distant sound of the ceremony that went on within; and as the year of Jubilee was at hand, the city was everywhere crowded with strangers from every nation under heaven.

“A strong-voiced clerk then read aloud, in Italian, the sentence of the Cardinal-Inquisitors, setting forth that Mark Anthony had relapsed into heresy, incurred all the censures and penalties in such a case de-

nounced, was degraded from all honours and benefices, his memory condemned, and he cast out of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His body and picture were to be delivered to the Prefect of the city, that the due penalties might be executed upon them, according to the rule and practice of the Church. His writings were to be burnt, and his goods confiscated to the Inquisition." And it is wonderful to tell with what attention and silence all this was heard, and with how great apparent approbation of all it was received.

Then the civic authorities took charge of the body, which still hung together, for the putrid flesh had not yet forsaken the bones. It was dragged out of the coffin, so that the skull and chest might be visible, and the loathsome mass, together with a bundle of books, was thrown upon a large pile of wood, and consumed before the multitude in the Campo di Flora.* There was no fear in those days of detection of poisoning by *post mortem* chemical analysis.

Having related the last act of burning, Bzovius adds, with an affectation of pity, "O that the fire may not burn in hell him whom it consumed on earth; and O that he who departed out of the way while he was with us, and caused many to stumble at the law, departing from us without true repentance, may find his way to heaven, and have joy in the presence of the angels of God!"

* *Campo di Flora*. The proper name of this place is involved in great obscurity. Its origin is not known, and various conjectures have occasioned a correspondent variety of form, which is reflected in these pages, following the confusion of my historical authorities. After all I decide for myself to follow Venuti, who accepts Flora (not Fiori, nor Fiore, nor Fiora) from Plutarch, who supposes that to have been the name of a lady admired by Pompey, whose theatre was on the ground. *Antichità di Roma*, Parte II., Capo iii.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ITALY.

MOLINOS AND THE QUIETISTS.

NEITHER piety nor the semblance of piety found any indulgence on its own account. In Rome, as elsewhere, the most flagrant violations of decency were passed over with scarcely a rebuke, while the inexorable censors of canonical orthodoxy visited every departure from the legal standard with certain punishment. The history of Molinos, father of the Mysticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is perhaps the most signal confirmation of this statement that modern times afford. Not for a moment confounding Quietism with the Christianity of the Bible, which is practical and active, we take note of the means employed to put it down.

Miguel Molinos was a Spaniard, a native of Aragon, of respectable family, and, if rumour may be trusted, of Jewish or Moorish descent. He studied theology at Pampelona, and then at Coimbra, where he was honoured with a doctor's degree. Although ordained priest, he never had any sort of benefice, nor was he attached to any particular church, but lived on his patrimony, and was as independent of ecclesiastical control as a man in priest's orders could be. He was of unblamable conduct, and enjoyed the reputation of piety, and the friendship of many of the clergy, especially of Palafox, Archbishop of Seville. Having removed from Spain to Italy, he there conciliated general esteem, and was described as pious, candid, modest, humble, and eminently successful in communicating his views to others. His manners were kindly

and cheerful, and his conversation unusually spiritual, yet quite free from affectation, and uniformly unobtrusive. "So strong was the persuasion of his piety," says the Cardinal Celestino Sfondrati,* "which he simulated most accurately, and thereby imposed on most persons, that prelates and noble matrons resorted to him from all quarters for the direction of their conscience." And another of his enemies tells us that "with fair words he deceived boys, girls, women, nobles, princes, and even the learned, who would not believe themselves deceived, but persisted in their sin." Nay, "cardinals, bishops, generals of orders, princes, counts, nobles of both sexes, merchants, and rustics, all adored him." It is clear, then, that he must have been an extraordinary man to sway so general and so powerful an influence.

Yet he placed no high value on the favours of the great, which he often found to be deceitful, but persevered in his chosen studies, and laboured incessantly for the propagation of his opinions. A book, under the title of "Spiritual Guide," was the first-fruit of those labours. The book soon appeared in various languages, was repeated in many editions, and was admired and quoted all over Europe. At first, no one saw any heresy in the "Spiritual Guide;" and the whole Court of Rome, including the Inquisition itself, acquiesced in the applause universally poured on its author. They called it an inestimable work; they commended it as most wholesome nourishment for the Lord's flock. It passed for a choice morsel of mystic piety, such as devotees delighted in, and the Church in general approved. Cardinal Petrucci, too, wrote a work of the same kind; and, for a time, these two men bore away the admiration of Italy. But the Jesuits, unwilling to be second in the scale of spiritual

* This Cardinal might be called in loose modern phrase, *ultra-montane*—that is to say, a thorough advocate of uncompromising Popery. He wrote against the Four Articles of the Gallican Clergy in 1682, and was rewarded with the Red Hat.

honours, while possessing the famous Exercises of their founder, moved the Inquisition to scrutinise the writings both of Molinos and Petrucci. The writings were examined, but not condemned, and the Jesuits were disappointed. Disappointment became for them, as usual, the strongest stimulant to perseverance.

Father La Chaise, a Jesuit, confessor of Louis XIV., urged that zealot to take up the matter, trusting that if the Inquisition again failed to do its duty, Louis would prove himself another Innocent, and that the Royal Senate would supply the place of the Holy Office. In Rome, the French Cardinal D'Etrées, who had professed himself a bosom friend of Molinos, declared that he had only counterfeited friendship the more certainly to detect the heresy, and avowed that he had thus acted in pursuance of instructions from his master. What else he did was perhaps best known to the Inquisitors; but the effect was felt when, in May, 1685, Molinos was unexpectedly arrested. They threw him into prison; and although he had often received favours from Innocent XI., the favour of that Pope now availed him nothing. His papers, chiefly consisting of letters—and of these there was a great number—were seized and examined, but no evidence of heresy could be extracted from them. Nevertheless he remained in prison. A taint of suspicion now spoiled his reputation; and charges of immorality—charges that are congenial to the popular taste, and always credited in Popish countries, because always common—supplemented charges of heresy. The reason of all this was that the Jesuits were determined to crush him, and the Inquisitors were well pleased to be the instruments.

Molinos, now made heresiarch, could not suffer alone. Seventy of his followers were thrown into the Minerva at the same time, among whom were the Count and Countess Vespignani, and the confessor of the Prince Borghese, with many other persons distinguished for learning, and of high repute for piety, according to

the new method of "Quiet." These persons, it was said, neglected outward religion under pretence of cultivating inward, and gave themselves to solitude and private prayer. The Countess Vespignani, undaunted even in the Inquisition, used the opportunities allowed by the easier kind of custody usual in such cases, to make it known that her confessor, the only person to whom she ever divulged her private opinion on the subject, must have broken the seal of confession, for she now heard statements repeated by others that could never have been made by anyone but herself. The Roman public were irritated, and the Inquisitors found it necessary to turn aside the tempest of common indignation by releasing the illustrious pair. Yet the labours of "the police of conscience" were not relaxed; and in less than a month from the arrest of Molinos, not fewer than two hundred Quietists were under lock and key.

The praise of unhesitating and undistinguishing audacity must certainly be allowed to the Holy Office. Innocent XI. had favoured Molinos, as founder of a more elevated fashion of devotion, and by so doing incurred a suspicion of heresy for himself. Consequently, on February 13th, 1687, Commissioners of the Holy Office went to the Pope, who submitted to be examined by them on the points in dispute; not as Christ's Vicar, than whom there could be none on earth more holy, nor yet as the successor of St. Peter, than whom there could be none more mighty, but as plain Benedetto Odescalchi. The secret of that inquest was not made known, but neither was the fact of its occurrence concealed. It was a grand thing for the Roman Inquisition to do, and many were the strictures pronounced in whisper on the conduct of all parties concerned.

Two days after their secret examination of their lord and master, the "Sacred Congregation" committed a circular letter to Cardinal Cibo, as Chief Minister, for him to send to the bishops all over Italy.

They said that in various places schools, companies, brotherhoods, or meetings, were assembled in churches, oratories, and private houses, with the title of Spiritual Conferences. Sometimes women only, sometimes men, sometimes both men and women, led by spiritual guides that were inexpert, and perhaps malicious, forsaking the way trodden by true saints, pursued that perilous way of prayer, quiet, and pure internal faith, as they were pleased to call it. At first they seemed to inculcate maxims of exquisite perfection, but at length broke out into open heresy and abominable lewdness, to the irreparable damage of those whom they deluded. The bishops were therefore commanded to watch over all new meetings, differing from such as were already practised and approved, and to abolish such. Spiritual directors (confessors) were to be content with walking in the beaten path of Christian perfection, without affecting any singularities. Above all, no suspected person was to be admitted to guide nuns, either by writing or voice; nor were such to enter monasteries, lest they should corrupt the spouses of the Lord with spiritual pestilence. If *prudence* failed to put an end to this new mischief, the bishops were to have recourse to *justice*. Meanwhile the matter was undergoing a searching consideration in Rome, that all Christendom might be made aware of the errors to be avoided.

“Justice” was quickly done. On the one hand, arrests continued, and Rome wondered at seeing persons hitherto accounted far above suspicion of heresy now plunged into the dungeons. Such was *Appiani*, one of the most eminent Jesuits, whom they apprehended on Sunday, the 1st of April. On the other hand, the theologians of the Holy Office were working hard, and soon issued a Censure of nineteen articles, said to be extracted from the writings of Molinos and other Quietists. The Censure contributed effectually to the suppression of the sect; but the circular to the bishops, which ought to have been written in Latin,

and kept quite confidential, was in Italian, and being found in everyone's hands, aroused general indignation. It was said that the Inquisitors had been encountered with so much learning and courage by many of their prisoners, that they were perplexed and ashamed; and that the friends of the prisoners, gathering confidence from numbers, wrote threatening letters to the Cardinals of the Congregation, bidding them consider well what they were doing, and assuring their Eminences that the writers would maintain the cause of the persecuted, and, if it came to that, would seal it with their own blood.

After much anxiety on account of Molinos and his fellow-sufferers, the Italian laity saw with a certain satisfaction that the Inquisitors would content themselves with making the weight of their anger fall on him alone.

On the 3rd day of September, 1687, Molinos was brought from his prison into the church of the Minerva. The Cardinals-Inquisitors were all there. He came in the usual penitential habit, carrying burning tapers in his hands, which were confined in manacles. The process was full of the foulest accusations, very long, and occupied several hours in the reading; the monks employed as readers relieving one another, while the poor handcuffed Quietist stood between servants of the Inquisition, without the least relief, to hear the outpouring of inquisitorial calumny. Cardinals, pretending to be scandalised at some of the passages, cried out, "*Al fuoco!*" "To the fire!" The vile crowd that, as usual, filled the place, took up the cry. When the reading was ended, Molinos expressed a wish to speak to the people; but that was not permitted. However, not being a penitent relapsed, he was not gagged, and now and then affirmed his innocence in a low voice to those who stood near him. Conscious of innocence, he felt no shame, and therefore could not betray any, but stood with a serene countenance, mild, and even cheerful. Once, when the people were

shouting, "To the fire," he smiled, and observed that they might be forgiven the uproar, as they were keeping a holiday, and wanted entertainment. And again he said that in himself they saw a man *defamed* indeed, but *penitent*.

So he went through the ceremony of public penance, abjured the propositions condemned in the written Censure, accepted absolution, and calmly walked away to a prison prepared for him in the Dominican monastery. On separating from the ecclesiastic who had attended him, he said, "Farewell, my father. We shall see each other again in the day of judgment, and then it will appear on whose side justice lies, on yours or mine."

The sentence was, Perpetual imprisonment, a rosary to be prayed over twice daily, and the Apostles' Creed recited once, three fasting-days every week, four confessions every year, and mass as often as his confessor might require. From September 3rd, 1687, to December 20th, 1696, he languished in that prison, in sufferings unknown. The symptoms he was reported to have shown during the last three months were such as indicated the action of poison. Frequent vomitings might have been so caused; but at seventy years of age, and weary of life, it could not have needed much artificial force to push him into the grave. Inquisitors beset his death-bed, and boasted afterwards that he had given many signs of repentance. But such reports cannot be heard without incredulity, not to say disgust. A stone was laid upon his grave with this inscription: "HERE LIES THE BODY OF DON MOLINOS, A GREAT HERETIC."

Again let me say that Quietism is not in harmony with the teaching of the Gospel; but Molinos deserved pity; and we may revere the memory of a man who, dissatisfied with a religion of profitless externals, sought to find within himself the fruits of an indwelling Power. That clearer light which he sought for himself and others he might have found more fully,

and might have learned the truth as it is taught in Holy Scripture, but for the error everywhere prevalent around him. As for the Jesuits and the Inquisition, the offence to them was not his Mysticism, but his departure from their prescribed idolatry.*

Again and again we have observed the strong contrast constantly presented between the fiend-like severity wreaked upon the innocent and the pious, and the indulgence granted to the most worthless of mankind—criminals whom the Inquisitors were compelled to mark, but reluctant to punish. Cases of the sort have not been made conspicuous in the present history, for reasons of propriety, not to say of morality. One case, however, shall be noted now by way of illustration; that of *Giuseppe Francesco Borri*, a well known Milanese quack, whose character may at least serve as a foil against that of the unfortunate Molinos. The two men were contemporary; and the same inquisitors, from first to last, were dealing with them simultaneously.

Borri is described as a chemist, quack, and heretic. He was a student in the Roman Seminary, where the Jesuit masters admired him for his memory and capacity, although he was remarkably deficient in obedience; and for lack of the most necessary of all virtues in that place, he had to leave both the Seminary and the Jesuits. He then abandoned himself to the most extravagant immoralities; and in the year 1654 he was obliged to take refuge in a church, the place where common criminals could find refuge when it failed them everywhere else.

Having thus escaped the lash of justice, he affected an extraordinary religious fervour, lamented the corruption of manners prevalent in Rome, but proclaimed

* *Three Letters concerning the present State of Italy*. Written in the year 1687 [from Rome]. Being a Supplement to Dr. Burnet's Letters. Letter i.

Christ. Eberh. Weismanni Introductio in Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Historiæ Sacræ Nov. Testamenti. Pars Posterior, Sæc. xvii. Hist. Quietismi.

that the time of recovery was near, the time when there would be but one fold on earth, with one shepherd, and that one the Pope. "Whosoever shall fail," he cried, "to enter that fold, shall be destroyed by the Pope's armies. God has predestined me to be the general of those armies. I am sure that they shall want nothing. I shall quickly finish my chemical labours by the happy production of the Philosopher's Stone, and by that means I shall have as much gold as is necessary for the business. I am sure of the assistance of the angels, and especially of Michael, the archangel. When I began to walk in the spiritual life, I had a vision in the night, attended with an angelical voice, which assured me that I should become a prophet."

Not finding much encouragement in Rome, where Alexander VII. did not appreciate his proffered services, he moved away to Milan, seeking honour in his own country. In Milan he played the dévotée, gained credit, and gathered followers, whom he caused to perform certain spiritual exercises, binding them by an oath of secrecy and by many vows. One was a vow of poverty, for the more certain performance whereof he caused all the money that every one had to be consigned to himself. Like others of the same craft, he affirmed that he had received a sword from heaven; and now proclaimed that the Pope, holder of two swords, and no friend of his, was to be killed, if the requisite mark were not found on his forehead.

He taught that the blessed Virgin Mary was born of St. Ann in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Lord was born of Mary. He called her the only daughter of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost; and caused words to that effect to be added to the mass, wherever his followers officiated.* He said that her

* The reader needs not be reminded that this idle and unscriptural figment, under the management of Pius IX., is now made, in the Church of the Inquisition, an article of faith, and enforced under anathema like the rest.

humanity was present in the Eucharist. He wrote a book for the use of his followers, who held meetings at night; but when he heard that the Inquisition had notice of their nocturnal meetings, he hid all his papers in a nunnery, where the Inquisitors found them; and if the Inquisitors' report be true, which is very likely, they were full of monstrously blasphemous jargon. The party he had now formed were called *Evangelical Nationalists*; and it was his design to collect his forces in the great square of Milan, encourage the people to demand liberty, and take possession of the city. But the Inquisition imprisoned some of his disciples, who probably did not keep the oath of secrecy; and, fearing the like fate, he prudently absconded from the city.

After the usual formalities, the Inquisition condemned him for contumacy in 1659, and in 1660; and finally burnt his effigy in the Campo Di Flora, on the 3rd of January, 1661. This gave his name acceptance in Germany, and then in Holland, where the multitude thought all the better of him because Rome condemned him. He now set himself up as a physician, able to cure all diseases; appeared with a stately equipage, and took upon himself the title of Excellency. But his power of healing did not answer the expectations he had endeavoured to raise, and the tide of popularity ebbed rapidly. In Amsterdam he became a swindler-bankrupt, and fled one night, carrying away a great many jewels and sums of money which he had pilfered. Yet at Hamburg he was protected by Queen Christina, and at Copenhagen by the King. This notwithstanding, he feared imprisonment, fled again, was taken at Goldingen, claimed by the Pope's Nuncio, sent to Vienna, and thence to Rome; where the Inquisition condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

Borri made abjuration of his errors on the last Sunday of October, 1672, in the church of the Minerva, with the usual parade. Unlike Molinos, he showed

extreme terror, and fainted twice during the ceremony. He was, indeed, conveyed to prison there to remain for life; but the penalty was mitigated. The Duke D'Etrées, French ambassador at Rome, brother of the Cardinal who betrayed Molinos, had heard of this man's eminence as a physician, and obtained leave for him to come out of the prison to attend himself. His treatment being successful, the ambassador engaged the Inquisitors to let their prisoner be transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo, where his custody was so very easy, that he pretended to be a *lodger*, not a prisoner. He might be seen in the Queen of Sweden's carriage, visiting Her Majesty, and walking about the city with guards. He was indulged with a convenient suite of apartments in the Castle, consisting of three rooms and a laboratory, and the Cardinal Cibo, Major-domo of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, made no difficulty of giving notes of admission to those who wished to visit him. In August, 1695, this person died, seventy-nine years of age, without any suspicion of poison, or mark of infamy. The truth is that, although guilty of the wildest heresy, he merited favour as an advocate of the Pope's supremacy, "Catholic unity," and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. These teachings were taken to outweigh the guilt of heresy on other points, including the minor irregularities of sedition, swindling and licentiousness, in comparison light as feathers in the scale. The Holy Office, it is now superfluous to say, is not second to the Company of Jesus in casuistic skill. In balancing merits against any demerits incurred on its own account, or on account of its clients, that incomparably clever set can trim the beam with a convenient discretion.

CHAPTER XL.

THE JEWS.

BEFORE bringing this History to a close, I must make a digression into two very different subjects; so different, indeed, that they could not be named in the same breath, nor fitly treated in continuity.

Strong as the Inquisition once was, it never had audacity enough to declare open war against all mankind at once. For the sake of policy, at least, canonical authorities accepted the principle that the Church has no right of jurisdiction over "them that are without;" and as Jews, Mohammedans, and Heathens, either lay entirely beyond the boundaries of Christian States, or, if dwelling within them, had multitudes of powerful kinsfolk in the world who might avenge their wrongs, the Inquisitors were careful to proceed with caution, and not do violence to a Jew until they had succeeded in making out a cause for it. Then this was often done, as is clear enough from the frequent mention of Jews and Judaizers in the preceding pages. First, they would manage, by bribery, or intimidation, or special private influence to induce or compel a Jew or Jewess to submit to Baptism, and then claiming the baptized person as a Christian, would watch closely over him, and arrest, imprison, or even burn him whenever they thought well so to do.

Perhaps the earliest recorded effort of Christians to exercise judicial authority in respect to Jews was made in the Council of Illiberis, in Spain, assembled in the year 306. In that Council some rigid injunctions were laid on the Christian part of the population, in order to exclude Jews from association with them,

and bring them, when so excluded, under the distressing consequences of civil interdiction.

The Inquisition proceeded against Jews as soon as it came into existence, under the sanction, if not the actual direction, of the Popes. Gregory X., in a Brief addressed to the Inquisitors of the Order of Preachers in the year 1271, says that he has heard with troubled heart, that not only some Jews, after being converted from the error of Jewish blindness to the light of Christian faith, have turned back again to their former perfidy, but that many Christians, denying the truth of the Catholic faith, have damnably passed over to the Jewish rite. Therefore, as it behoved him to meet such a damnable pestilence with proper and immediate remedies, he commands them, within the bounds assigned to them for making inquest against heretics, by authority of the Apostolic See, to proceed alike against Christians and Jews, and diligently and solicitously to treat the former as aiders and abettors, receivers and defenders of heretics, whenever they find them guilty of such conduct.

It appears in the same document that one Boniface, at Ferrara, a converted Jew, and others with him, complained that Jews in that city had treated them with insolence and blasphemies, and asked the Pope for protection. Gregory commanded the Inquisitors to keep those Jews quiet, use their discretion to prevent such annoyance for the future, and, if necessary, hand over troublesome Jews to the secular arm, which, as we know, was the very last argument of the Church, insuring death to the offender before sun-set.*

Time did not abate the indignation of the Ferrara Jews, whose antipathy to Boniface kept him in perpetual bodily fear. Eleven years later, he appealed to Pope Nicholas III. who wrote through his Cardinal Legate to the Inquisitor of Ferrara almost in the words of his predecessor, Gregory X. This Inquisitor,

* Limborch quotes *ad verbum* from the Extravagantes, *Hist. Inquis.*, page 239,

not without reason cautious in a state where Jews were very numerous, applied for advice to the theologians of Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara, on eight questions which he submitted for their consideration. The correspondence took place in the year 1281.

1. A Jew was baptized and converted to the Christian faith. He apostatised, returned to Judaism, and denied the faith which he had accepted. Is such one subject to the authority of the Inquisitor, and can he be laid hold of and condemned like other heretics?

The wise men of Padua answer, that certainly he is subject to the Inquisitor's authority, who has power to proceed against him as a heretic. The doctors at Ferrara say not only that he has the power, but that it is his duty to proceed at once.

2. Can an Inquisitor proceed against persons by whose act, pleasure, will or advice any Christian apostatises, and denies the faith of Christ which he had once accepted, as well as against his abettors, receivers and defenders, whether they be Jews or not?

The Paduans answer that the Inquisition both can proceed and ought to proceed against them as abettors, receivers and defenders of heretics. For, although the Church tolerates Jews in the observance of their own rites, yet by reason of the crime thus committed against the Church, they are to be restrained by ecclesiastical severity, and lose their privilege if they have abused it. So say they of Bologna, and moreover, add that they ought to be severely punished. But after all they advise that Jews be not put to death, nor their blood shed; neither should they be given over, nor left in power of the secular arm. But they can and ought to be punished with pecuniary fines, banishment, imprisonment, and even indirect excommunication, according to the degree of their offence. By whatever means they have promoted their apostasy, they should be prosecuted as abettors, harbourers, and defenders of a heretic. But the proceedings against such persons ought not to be violent.

So say the Doctors at Ferrara—*The Jews' money is better than their blood.*

3. If the Inquisitor has very strong reason to believe that these persons are not telling the truth, when he is making inquest concerning their offences, may he have them tormented by a secular executioner, but without effusion of blood, and proceed to inflict the canonical penalties upon them if they are convicted, or confess?

The Paduans answer affirmatively, and the Bolognese approve. The truth, say they, may be forced from them by torture if they will not confess it, but blood must not be shed, and it must be done by a secular judge at the requisition of an Inquisitor, after evidence by legitimate witnesses, and when there is very strong reason to believe that they are guilty. The Ferrarese agree, and would advise very strong measures.

4. There is a Synagogue where by act, will, and counsel of the Jews dwelling in that country, some Christians are washed (*abluti*) by the Jews, in prejudice of sacred baptism, and by their persuasions deny the faith. What is to be done with that Synagogue?*

The Paduans answer that that Synagogue, having lost the privileges allowed it by the Christians, is to be destroyed to the very foundations. The Bolognese and Ferrarese entirely agree.

5. With reference to a man who has committed any of the above-mentioned offences, and is gone away beyond the limits of the territory of his "Inquisition," but has a house within those limits where he once resided with his family, what is to be done?

The Paduans say that it will be sufficient to present the edict of citation at the said house, if he is gone away into a more foreign place, not known, so that if he does not make his appearance within the time appointed, proceedings may be taken against himself, and the property he has left there, so far as that can be lawfully done.

* See on Re-judaisation, Vol. I., page 192.

6. The infant child of a baptised Jew is left with a mother who continues in Jewish blindness, the father being absent in remote parts not known. What is to be done with such a child?

The Paduans reply that, for the sake of the Faith, the Church is to take that infant from its mother, or the Ordinary of the place, or the Christian Prince in whose dominion it is, and it must be nursed among the faithful who are not suspected, and unless any difficulty is thrown in the way by an opposing will, must be baptised.

7. There is a question of one against whom it is proved, by many lawful witnesses, that while he was member of a Jewish Synagogue, and had to read the Law solemnly in the presence of other Jews, according to custom, some one objected that he was not fit to read the Law because he had been baptised in such or such a country, and he has himself acknowledged and confessed that he was baptised there, but says that he has returned to Judaism and to repentance, doing what the Jews required of him for sinfully allowing himself to be baptised, and has continued steadfast and wishes henceforth to live and die a Jew.

The Paduans and Bolognese say, that a secular judge, on receiving command from an Inquisitor, must put him to torture, but without effusion of blood, in order to find out the truth.

8. A man and a wife, both publicly professed themselves Jews, and it is legitimately proved against them by witnesses that the parents of both were Christians, yet both of them were baptised (as Jews converted), and it was in this way:—The father of the husband, who now professes himself to be a Jew, was a Jew at first, but afterwards baptised, and so became a Christian, married a Christian woman, by whom he had a son, had the son baptised, and lived many years more as a Christian. At length, a long time afterwards, this man's father, returning to Judaism, caused the son, of whom there is now this question, to be

circumcised, and afterwards always lived as a Jew. What is more, he made the mother Judaize, although she was indeed a Christian, and she was buried in the Jews' cemetery. Now that woman, who publicly professed to be a Jewess, is proved to have been a Christian before; for her mother was first known to be a Jewess, but afterwards was made a Christian, and received a Christian husband, but returned to Judaism after his death, and married a Jew.

On this case the Bolognese pronounced that both the man and the woman should be proceeded against, and if they were unwilling to confess, the truth should be extorted from them by torture. But if even so they would not confess the truth, their property should be sold, and they kept in perpetual imprisonment, or else delivered over to the secular arm for execution.*

Thus began the Title in the Inquisitorial Code concerning Jews. Christian Emperors and Roman Pontiffs had made many laws for the oppression of God's ancient people; and military persecution, with tumultuary violence, had been tried in vain for their extirpation, with no other result than to prove the truth of a prophetic sentence—"I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee" (Gen. xii. 3). Then came the Inquisition to ensnare with guile those whom others had not been able to destroy by force. The Acts of Councils launched against Albigenes at Tours, and the Canons of the Lateran, with the more systematic provision of Lucius III., and the voluminous instructions of Innocent III., in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while they supplied the fundamental law of persecution of heresy, did not suffice for an effective treatment of Judaism, and in default of Canons the Italian priests of the last quarter of the thirteenth century had no resort but voluntary consultation with brethren outside the Holy Office, and the laws against Jews which were after-

* Quoted by LIMBORCH, pp. 239—241, from CAMPEGGIO on ZANCHINO de *Hæreticis*.

wards published in Rome under Pius VI., are but a modern edition of the answers to the eight questions put by the Inquisitor at Ferrara to his three friends in that city, Padua and Bologna, in the year 1281.

The severity of these decisions was from time to time increased, and the practice of Inquisitors accordingly became increasingly savage. Jew and Gentile fared alike when they fell into their hands, and the only distinctive peculiarity in the law of the Holy Office as regarded the former, consisted in a vexatious and humiliating control, making him an object of suspicion, hatred and contempt. It was taken for granted that every Jew was an enemy of all Christians, and an obstructor of the Inquisition. The New Christians, compelled or drawn into an unreal profession of Christianity, were first made hypocrites, then driven into a false position, and after all despised and punished by those who had forced hypocrisy upon them.

The practice of Inquisitors, which was always substantially the same, is first described in instructions of the Council of Toulouse, in the year 1229. The discipline to which the Jews in Rome and Italy were subject until very recently, is fully exhibited in an Edict of Pius VI., published a hundred years ago.

The Toulouse instructions were to the following effect:—

When a person suspected of being a Jew was brought before them, the Examiners were to ask his name and surname. These being written down, they were to ascertain the place of his birth, and also the place where he was converted to Christianity, (and by that "conversion," made subject to the authority of the Church, as exercised by this Tribunal). The first lines of a personal history were thus obtained, and they proceeded to its completion, step by step.

Were his parents Jews, or had they been Jews? What were *their* names, and where were *they* born? If converted, where? Has the suspected person

brothers or sisters? If he has, what are their names, surnames, and places of abode? Correct answers to these questions would place every member of the family under the eye of a familiar, unless his abode were in a heathen or Mohammedan country, such as Egypt or Tartary, where familiars would not be tolerated. Even so, the inquest could at once be extended by examination only, far beyond the family first concerned. Relatives by affinity, as well as kindred, must then be named,—their extraction—birth-places—dwelling-places. Were any of them baptized? If so, they are subjects for examination, to be pursued and caught, if desirable and practicable.

Then comes the more searching inquiry: "Are you a Jew or a Christian?" In either case it must be asked, "Which of these religions do you prefer? Which is the better of the two? In which of them do you wish to die?" These questions plainly put might be answered satisfactorily enough if the examiner would be content with one explicit answer in favour of Christianity; but as a suspected person must be treated like a criminal in court, this is not enough, and the examination must be carried much farther. "Do you consider yourself bound by an oath administered in the law of Moses, and by the word of God?" "If any of your people, the Jews, commit perjury, by what law are they punished, or their wives, or their children? If any of them have been punished, how often?" These questions may perplex, the answers may be contradictory, and by a little cross-questioning the victim may be soon ensnared. So they go on.

"Has your wife been baptized?—and your children?" "Are you yourself baptized? If so, when, where, and by what name?" This is to strengthen the evidence of identity by information of the original Jewish name, as well as of the assumed Christian name. "How many were baptized with you? What are their names? Where are they to be found?"

Passing away from the witness, his blood-relations, and his relatives by affinity, the Inquisitor has now to make notes of a far wider scope. If any of them have returned to Judaism, it must be known where they rejoined the Synagogue, and by whose means they were induced to return, or assisted in returning. "Have those persons wives, and by what names are the wives known?" But, coming to his own case:—"When did the ceremony of your own reconciliation to the Synagogue take place?—and where?" A perilous disclosure will now unfold. "Who were at the same time re-judaised?" In those days there was much made of the public baptisms of Jews, which often took place on a large scale; there were also Jewish reconciliations, not performed in public, but with great ceremony notwithstanding, and they too were events of deep domestic interest. But when the re-judaised were caught, through the weakness or malice of other persons, their death might be considered certain. "Who, then, performed the ceremony of reconciling the person or persons mentioned?" If more than the one now in view, "Who were they?" Perhaps conscience, or natural affection, now seals the lips of this involuntary witness, therefore he must be pressed to give a clue to the whole matter by answering the question, "Who were present on that occasion?"

Supposing that the witness is what they would call a Jew relapsed—although he never was a Christian in reality, nor did he receive a real baptism, but was no more than a Jew disguised under the mockery of a Christian Sacrament,—he is to be questioned still more closely:—

"How many years were you in Christianity?" "Did you go to confession?" "Did you communicate?" "Did you believe the same as other Christians?" "Did you marry while you were among the Christians?" "Had you any children by your wife?" "Were the children baptized?" If the wife is involved in his offence, she, too, must suffer. If

not, she may be otherwise disposed of. As for the children, when the Church has burnt the father, she will perhaps adopt the children, and bid them curse his memory. But, to himself again:—"Did you learn the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostles' Creed?"* "Do you know any Christian that is now Judaising?" "How do they pray by Gohyns and Chlorus?"† "Who holds the office of De-baptizer? How are they de-baptized?"

To elicit matter for heavier condemnation, the detected Jew must be questioned yet again:—"Did you go to communion with the heart of a true Christian?" Then, to satisfy curiosity, and open the way for further inquisition, there are two more questions to be put:—"Have you a certificate of re-Judaisation?" "How do they circumcise Christians otherwise than (children of) their own?"‡

How effectually examinations so conducted brought victims to the stake, may be seen in the reports of Autos, especially in Spain and Portugal. I therefore now refrain from producing any examples of Jewish sufferers. They occur with sad frequency throughout these volumes.

The Edict of Pius VI., very carefully compiled for the guidance of the Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, throws much light on the tyrannous oppression of Jews in Rome and Italy in times gone by. The Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome, and the Bishops and local Inquisitors elsewhere, were charged with the execution of the Edict, and the enforcement of severe and crushing penalties, some fixed and others arbitrary.

The entire mass of Rabbinical literature was to be

* They do not mention the Ten Commandments which were taught entire in the earlier times, and constituted a part of what was called *The Catechism*, but in the thirteenth century were fallen into disuse so far as concerned children and proselytes.

† This question I cannot understand.

‡ VAISSETTE. *Histoire Générale du Languedoc*. Paris, 1737, tome iii., p. 374. *Interrogatoria ad Judæos*.

suppressed. According to a Decree of the Holy Office in 1553, no Hebrew book, whether manuscript or printed, might be in the possession of any Jew. So far as this Edict could be put into force, neither might any Christian, being a friend of the Hebrews, possess such a book, or have anything to do with it, except to give it up to the Inquisition, or to destroy it with his own hands. No Jew was permitted to teach or explain the contents of such books, publicly or privately, to Jew or to Gentile.

Hebrew books were not to be transcribed or printed, bought or sold, by any Jew or any Christian, but when found, sent forthwith to the nearest office of the Inquisition. Christians helping to circulate such books were to be very severely punished. Custom-houses and ships were to be narrowly searched, to prevent the introduction of Jewish writings into the States of the Church. Couriers, postmen, carriers and conductors of every kind were forbidden to convey a Hebrew book by land or water.

Jews were forbidden to exercise witchcraft, or other occult and superstitious arts, in terms which implied that they were more addicted to follies of the kind than the Christians of that age, which, however, was not the case. Even the use of phylacteries was at the same time prohibited.

At the funeral of a Jew there might be no procession, or other public solemnity, nor any inscription over the grave to tell whose remains were laid therein.

They were to dwell in Jewries—the Italians call them Ghetti, and the Synagogues within the Ghetti were never to be enlarged, nor their number increased. When a Jew was induced to become a Christian Catechumen, and lived out of his Ghetto, no Jew might approach within a measured distance of the house where he was lodged. No Hebrew might retain in his house any such catechumen or neophyte, though it were his own wife or child; much less might he eat, drink, or sleep with any one of them, neither within

the Ghetto nor on the outside, nor work with any one of them, nor visit nor speak with him, under a penalty of fifty scudi, and to be dragged through the town three times at a rope's end.

For a Hebrew to induce one of his own nation, who had been forced into a profession of Christianity, to return to the Synagogue, was a crime to be punished with extreme severity; or to endeavour to prevent a forced conversion, was to be accounted a crime of equal magnitude, and punished cruelly and ignominiously.

Every Jew or Jewess had to wear a broad yellow badge, in the shape of a ring, so sewed on to some part of the garment that it could not be concealed, and was not to be covered, either at home or abroad, nor were any to be exempted from wearing the ignominious distinction by any authority whatever.

The ordinary intercourse of life, between Christian and Jew, was prevented by distressing restrictions upon trade. No Christian could enter a Synagogue, except on payment of a heavy fine, nor might a Jew invite him thither.

Neither the Christian nor the Hebrew mother was permitted to have a midwife or a wet-nurse of the opposite religion, under penalty of fifty scudi for the first offence, and the same for the second, *with the addition of a flogging, which last penalty the husband was bound to undergo if he did not himself see it inflicted on the wife.* [None but priests forbidden to marry, could be capable of imposing such a law upon the laity.] As for travelling, the restrictions now imposed on Jews in Barbary are said to be lighter than those their brethren were subjected to in the Roman States. No mark of contempt was to be spared in the infliction of the most savage and unreasonable discipline; and, after all this degradation, the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals had none to teach them that the Roman model of a most unchristian Christianity was debased, far lower than the religion

of the Ghetto, by the methods taken for compulsory conversion. The Rabbis, themselves, were forced to defile their Sabbath, by causing a fixed number of their brethren to be present at Sermons in the Churches every Saturday, where ignorant preachers reviled what the Jews count holy, as well as on other days appointed both in Rome, and in other cities of the Papal territory.

The Rabbis were required to make out lists of Jews to be sent to hear Sermons, and to give written description of their persons, in order that the exact number in attendance might be tested, and the absence of any be discovered. The Rabbi so employed, and made responsible, had to pay out of his own pocket a fine of two *giulij* for each absentee.

The Edict was posted up in the accustomed places in Rome, and throughout the States of the Church, and also in the schools within the Ghetti, where it was to be exposed perpetually for more effectual observance, "under penalty of a hundred *scudi* in each case of contravention, with corporal punishment at discretion." It was dated at the Palace of the Holy Roman Inquisition, on the fifth day of April, 1775.

A slightly condensed rendering of this extraordinary document is given in the Appendix,* and deserves careful perusal. It affords illustration of the Papal policy towards the Jews, which was just to suffer them to live, and even to exercise their religion, but to plunge them into ignorance, destroy their self-respect, isolate them from all Christian society, leave them to struggle in trade against heavy restrictions on every side, but still so to trade that their earnings might be eventually appropriated by their persecutors, and cast into the coffers of the Church. While thus dealt with in the States of the Church, they were permitted to travel into other countries, there to accumulate

* Number V. *Editto sopra gli Ebrei*. Roma, 1775. British Museum. Press mark, B. L. L. 1.31. (28*). Under "*Inquisition*" in the Old Catalogue.

wealth, but made to leave their wives and children in the Ghetti, as hostages for their own return, bringing back their earnings to be wasted in paying tribute for permission to exist miserably, or extorted from them in the shape of exorbitant fines for alleged contravention of the laws of the Inquisition, laws chiefly made for the very purpose of creating offences which might prove lucrative to the Cardinal-Inquisitors.

CHAPTER XLI.

SUPERSTITION.

IN concession to modern custom I use a gentler word. *Devil-worship* would more correctly indicate the subject of the present chapter.* During my inquisitorial readings I have constantly found mention of wizards, and witches, astrologers, magicians, sorcerers, necro-

* Prierias, in his first chapter, speaks of the whole system of superstition treated in his book as one of *Devil-worship*. He believes Satan himself to be its *visible head*. Of the whole multitude of its devotees, he says, Genus hoc perversissimum, cum virorum tum mulierum præcipue, quod diabolus pro explosâ idololatriâ mundo inferre curavit: quod equidem humani generis inimicum diabolus colit, veneratur, adorat; non jam in sculptilibus, aut certe ignoranter, tanquam spiritum bonum ut olim: cæterum potius scienter, et in corpore ab ipso Satana ex ære et crasso terræ vapore compaginato; in quo vanorum hominum sensibus sese ingerat adorandum.

Sylvester Prierias wrote this in 1521, and printed it in Rome, no doubt believing it. But all were not so credulous. The Cardinal da Cunha, Inquisitor-General of Portugal, wrote a book of regulations for his Inquisition in 1774, and therein propounds it as doubtful "whether there is in the world an art, that by ways of invocation of the said demons, by imprecations, by straight or crooked lines, and by circles, in order to transport human bodies through the air, from one part of the world to another distant part, to tame ferocious minds, to darken the sun and the stars, to make reasonable beings sick and miserable, with languor of body, with grief of mind, and with barbarous and cruel deaths at the pleasure of professors of this most cruel art." Da Cunha considers the question, and comes to practical conclusions:—

1. Such operations have never been proved, and are impossible.
2. The persons convicted are either impostors or superstitious.
3. If impostors, to be punished as such.
4. If superstitious, the superstition itself is an impiety, and for this they shall be punished with stripes, or galley, or prison, or banishment.

mancers, enchanter, diviners, cheiromancers, and others. These all are supposed to be in compact with the Devil, a compact which would certainly imply heresy, and therefore they were counted fit subjects for inquisitorial treatment, and figured largely in the lists at Autos. They were punished with imprisonment, flogging and other corporal inflictions, and very often death by fire.

My work would be incomplete if I were to pass over this class of cases in silence, yet it is so difficult to treat the subject with any degree of clearness without violating decency, that my treatment of it must be confessedly incomplete. I have pondered the pages of Prierias, Del Rio, Bordoni, Eymeric and others, and perused many accounts scattered over the whole field of this peculiar literature, and arrive at one or two certain conclusions. It is evident that the Romish theologians generally agree, in spite of a great diversity of opinions on many points, that Satan and his angels play a very considerable part in the affairs of this world, receiving actual worship, and entering into close compact with their votaries. A real power is attributed to the tricks of these persons, whom they suppose to have the fortunes and lives of others in their hands. They say that a demon, or an evil spirit, can perform bodily acts, and so exactly simulate humanity that it may be impossible to distinguish by its appearance, or by its actions and their effects, whether it is a spirit, or a man or woman. The system of Demonology is vast and complicated. It is a teeming source of crime. It is a poison that for ages infected whole masses of society. It was indeed a *black art* — a cloak of darkness which covered with impenetrable secrecy a world of iniquity, wherein priests, "religious persons," and confessors, were the most cunning actors; an art of which Inquisitors were the most accomplished students and practitioners. An entire volume might be filled with examples, but they are too frivolous or too corrupt.

Failing, therefore, to treat the subject scientifically, I will ask the reader to be content with two pieces of translation, and release myself from the responsibility of relating, on my own credit, what might seem, even on the most direct evidence, no less incredible than foolish.

The first, from an Italian manuscript in the British Museum,* is an account of a capture made by the Holy Inquisition in Leghorn, on the 9th of May, 1704, of a Priest and a Painter who persuaded each other to commit an act of witchcraft against the two Kings of France and Spain.

“A certain priest of Bargha, about fifty years of age, called D. Gio. Giuliani was at one time among the monks of Montenero, who made use of him for saying mass and hearing confessions on an occasion of great concourse, paying him a monthly allowance, and his board. A few weeks ago they dismissed him. On coming to Leghorn he made a close friendship with one M. Etienne Ligese, who some time ago was keeper of the White Lion, but now is Consul of the German Nation, and who found an apartment for him opposite his own house, over a Caffé in the *Via del Cupido*, on the fourth floor, where there is a terrace over the whole house, and furnished him with a bed, a table, and a few other necessary articles. In company with the said priest dwelt a painter, whom they call Romano. On Saturday last, about one o'clock at night, the Chief of the police was seen to pass in that direction, with all the police force, went into the house and seized both priest and painter. Soon afterwards the ministers of the Holy Inquisition went in, and surprised the two miserables, who had no time to conceal the atrocious crime they were about, and made a search of the chamber, as well as of the whole house where they were lodging, and found many articles of superstition. Among others a chalice, a paten, many

* *Successione de Filippo V. alla Corona di Spagna*. Tom. xv., Mus. Brit. 16,465. Fol. 231.

particles (*crumbs of sacramental bread*), a surplice, a stole, a missal, and after all a vessel containing holy oil. Some pieces of a dead man's bone, a napkin, whereon were drawn circles, stars and numbers, many *Agnus Dei*, a book of magic with the title *Treatises of Mark Agrippa*, two figures which they say were made of the wax of *Agnus Dei*, one likeness of the King of France, and another of the King of Spain, dressed in royal habit with sceptre and crown, and all stuck through and through with needles. A piece of sharp iron lay by in the form of a spit, to turn it upon and melt it. There was also half a calabash containing many ingredients, such as gums, herbs, bits of cord, hairs, nails and so on. In the priest's pockets were found two petitions signed with his own blood, addressed to the Prince of Hell, in which he offered to deliver himself up to him soul and body, with all his powers and faculties, and as an unworthy priest, implores him to be permitted to offend two persons at his own pleasure, and the operation was to begin that very Saturday night. But another French painter, an acquaintance of the Romano aforesaid, having had some knowledge of the matter, (and was perhaps an accomplice,) fearing that it might be discovered, had gone of his own accord to make it known to the Holy Inquisition, in order to escape the penalty.

"This one was therefore kept in custody for some days while the *Capiatur* was prepared, and until the evening fixed on for the operation, when being set at liberty, he might himself take the police to the house. He then remained free, while the capture of the priest and the painter was effected, and the French Consul, meanwhile, informed of all that was going on in that house, gave information to his court, that they might make sure of the capture taking place as it did, and now the trial of the priest and painter by the Holy Inquisition is going forward. Time will tell the whole."

Readers of Cervantes have seen the story of Don

Quixote and Sancho Panza, both of them blindfold on a wooden horse, when the knight instructs his faithful Squire with an allusion to the licentiate Torralba spirited away in the air by the Devil, transported from Madrid to Rome in a night. Now the *verdadero cuento*—the “true story of the novelist,” strange as it may sound, had a foundation in history, which is fully related by Llorente,* who repeats it from the written Report in the Inquisition of Madrid.

“The Doctor Eugenio Torralba was born in the city of Cuenca, and declared in his examination that when fifteen years old he went to Rome, and served as page to Don Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, who was afterwards created Cardinal, in May, 1503. In that capital he studied philosophy and medicine, with the physician Scipio, and the Masters Mariana, Avanselo and Maquera, with whom he had latterly, being himself a physician, many debates on the immortality of the soul, since they maintained as a physical truth the immortality of the soul, and supported their doctrine with such powerful reasons that, although Torralba did not willingly cast off the religion that he had in his heart from infancy, he became a Pyrrhonist, doubting everything. About the year 1501, being then a physician, he contracted an intimate friendship with Master Alfonso, an inhabitant of Rome, who, having been a Jew, had given up the religion of Moses for that of Mohammed, afterwards exchanged Mohammedanism for Christianity, but last of all abandoned that for Nature! This Alfonso told Torralba that Jesus was mere man, and not God, and this he maintained with many arguments, and although Torralba could not dare to cast away the faith received from his parents, he still continued a Pyrrhonist, doubtful on which side lay the truth.

“He said that one of the friends he made in Rome was a certain Dominican friar, called Fray Pedro, who told him one day that he had an angel for a servant, a

* *Historia de la Inquisicion de España*, cap. xv., art. 2.

good spirit whose name was Zechiel, so strong in his knowledge of things hidden and future, as words could not express, but of so peculiar a temper that far from seeking connection with him in order to communicate his knowledge, he abhorred that, saying that he wished to be free, and serve for the sake of friendship the man in whom he had placed confidence, and this he would do with full liberty to reveal his secrets to him or not, because, if while he stubbornly refused to do that, he was pressed with importunity, he should retire from the society of the man who troubled him, and not return to it again. But Fray Pedro, having asked Torralba if he would like to take Zechiel for friend and servant, as in that case he would beg him to consent to be such for the sake of friendship to himself, Torralba assured him that he would be very glad.

“ Zechiel then allowed himself to be seen in form of a fair young man clad in red, with a black mantle, and said to Torralba, *I will be thine as long as thou livest, and will follow thee whithersoever thou goest*, and in consequence of this promise appeared to him at the new-moons, the quarter-moons, and the full-moons, and on other days convenient, in the same dress, but sometimes as a pilgrim, and sometimes as a hermit. But Zechiel never spoke to him against the Christian religion, nor led him into any error, or any wrong action, but rather reproved him if he saw him commit any sin, and from time to time went to church with him at the time of mass, by all which Torralba believed that he was a good angel, as, if he were a bad one, he would have conducted himself otherwise. Zechiel always spoke to him in Latin, or in Italian, and although he had been in Spain, France, and Turkey, he did not use those languages. He still paid him visits (said Torralba), at that time in the prison of the Holy Office, but not often, and he did not reveal to him any secret. Torralba, therefore, wished that he would leave him, as his visits only served to disturb his imagination and deprive him of sleep; nevertheless

he could not prevail on him to keep away, nor to cease from saying things that troubled him.

“Torralba came to Spain about the year 1502, and after some time, having travelled all over Italy, returned to Rome and there took up his abode, enjoyed the favour of the Cardinal of Volterra, gained the reputation of being a good physician, and was on friendly terms with many other cardinals. Having read some books of cheiromancy, he studied the art scientifically, and acquired such a knowledge of it that some persons applied to him to foretell their fortunes by the lines on their hands. Zechiel taught Torralba the hidden virtue of many herbs and plants to cure certain diseases, and Torralba, having used them with good effect, and received the money given him for those cures, Zechiel reproved him, saying that he ought not to take it, as the remedy had not cost him study nor labour.

“Torralba having been sometimes in trouble for want of money, Zechiel one day said to him : *Why art thou sad, even if thou hast not money !* and he afterwards found six ducats in his bed, which was repeated on several occasions, by which Torralba believed that Zechiel had put them there, although when questioned about it he went away without giving any answer.

“Most of the intelligence which Zechiel gave related to political affairs, as for example, being in Spain again in the year 1510, and following the Court of King Ferdinand the Catholic, Zechiel told him that that Monarch would soon receive some disagreeable intelligence, which saying Torralba immediately communicated to the Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, and to the great Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova, and in fact the mail that very day brought tidings of the death, in Africa, of Don Garcia de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, in the unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

“Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, having heard that Cardinal Volterra had gained a sight of the Angel

Zechiel, desired also to see him, and to get exact knowledge of the nature and qualities of that spirit. Torralba, anxious to please him, earnestly prayed Zechiel to appear to the Cardinal Inquisitor-General in such a human form as might please him best, but Zechiel would not consent. To compensate for this disappointment, the angel desired Torralba to tell Cisneros that he would soon come to be King, a prediction which was in substance fulfilled, for he was made Sovereign-Governor of all Spain and of the Indies. In this way Zechiel gave many announcements in ambiguous language, and in time certain events took place which threw light on the predictions, as, for example, that the Valencian Cardinal Don Francisco Remolinos would be King, and he became Viceroy of Naples, which was as good as King, considering the separation and distance from the sovereign. Torralba having gone back to Rome in 1513, he there knew from Zechiel in 1516 the death of King Ferdinand the Catholic within the same day on which it happened, and made it known to the Cardinal Volterra and others. Walking on the wharf of the city of Naples with Tomás Silba of Salcedo, a native of Cuenca, who was persuading Torralba to go with him to certain diversions, Zechiel dissuaded him, and even removed him at once from the company, leaving Silba alone. It was afterwards well known that if Torralba had gone they would have killed him, as they had killed his fellow-countryman.

“Another time, in Rome, Zechiel gave notice that his friend Pedro Morgano ought not to go out of the city, or he would lose his life; and Torralba, not being able to see his friend that day, for if he had gone at once to look for him Morgano would have staid at home, his dead body was found outside Rome, cut to pieces.

“Zechiel gave notice that the Cardinal of Sienna would come to a disastrous end, and some time afterwards he died at the hands of the executioner, by

order of Pope Leo X., in the year 1517. Camilo Rufini, a native of Naples, friend of Torralba, charged him to beg Zechiel to reveal some method of winning in a game he was very fond of, and Torralba having consented, Zechiel taught him how to sketch a card, showing certain strange characters in which he had to write something like the letters M, Q, and L, and give it to Camilo. Camilo took the card, and won a hundred ducats. Zechiel said that he should not play in the next quarter of the moon, or he would lose.

"Torralba, when returned to Rome in 1513, much desired to see Tommaso di Beccara, an intimate friend of his who lived in Venice, and Zechiel knowing of it, took him thither and brought him back again so quickly that persons who saw him constantly were not aware of his absence.

"The Cardinal of Santa Cruz, Don Bernardino de Carvajal, some time in the year 1516, requested Torralba to go with Dr. Morales, her physician, to the house of a Spanish lady named *la Rosales*, because he wished to know what truth there was in what she told him about her seeing, every night, the ghost of a man killed with daggers, and although Doctor Morales had passed a night there and saw nothing when *la Rosales* cried out that she saw him at that moment, he hoped to get further information by help of Torralba. They went both together, and about one o'clock the woman cried out as usual. Morales saw nothing, but Torralba observed the figure of a dead man, and another ghost behind him, resembling a woman, and asked it, *What dost thou want here?* The ghost answered, *A treasure*, and vanished. When Zechiel was questioned what this meant, he answered that a man had really been murdered there with daggers.

"When the Catholic King died in Spain, Zechiel told Torralba that his country would be in a state of civil war. Torralba repeated this to Cardinal Volterra, and to the Duke of Bejar, then living in Rome. The Duke wrote it to the Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros,

Governor of the Kingdom, and very soon afterwards broke out the war of the *comunidades*.

"In 1519 Torralba returned to Spain, in company with Don Diego de Zuñiga, relative of the Duke of Bejar, and of Don Antonio, Grand Prior of Castile, in the Order of St. John, and during the journey some very remarkable occurrences happened. As the two were taking a walk in the town of Barcelonetta, near Turin in Piedmont, with the Secretary Acebedo, who had been *maestre de campo* (or colonel) in Italy and Savoy, Acebedo and Zuñiga were startled, as they said, at seeing something, they knew not what, walking beside Torralba. Torralba told them that it was his angel Zechiel, who had come to make him a communication. Zuñiga then expressed an extremely strong desire to see him, but, much as he begged and prayed, Zechiel would not condescend to show himself. When Torralba was walking with Zuñiga, in Savoy, a certain child was thrown into great terror on seeing a ring on one of the doctor's fingers, with a little negro's head, black as an agate, on which Don Diego asked if the child was bewitched, and the other answered that the stone had been polished on a Friday, with the blood of a he-goat.

"When Eugenio de Torralba was in Barcelona, he saw, in the house of the Canon Juan Garcia, a book of Cheiromancy, with some notes in it about the best way of winning at play. Don Diego de Zuñiga wished to learn the way. Eugenio copied the characters, and instructed Zuñiga that he should himself write them on a card on a Wednesday, with bat's blood, that day being dedicated to Mercury, and have it on him when he was at play. The lady of the house where they lodged having said that there was a treasure hidden there, and Zuñiga expressing a wish to know if that was true, Zechiel, being questioned by Torralba, answered that there was, but that the time was not yet come for finding it, because there were also two spirits enchanted by the Moors, and they hindered the discovery.

“When he was in Valladolid, in the year 1520, Doctor Eugenio told Don Diego that he wished to return to Rome, because he had an opportunity for making the journey in a short time, riding on a cane in the air, and guided by a fiery cloud; and in fact he did return to Rome, where the Cardinal of Volterra and the Prior of the Order of St. John begged him to let them have his familiar spirit. Torralba made the proposal to Zechiel, but although he pressed it earnestly, he could not persuade him to consent.

“Afterwards, in the year 1525, his angel told him that he would do well to return to Spain because he might be appointed physician to the Infanta Doña Leonor, queen widow of Portugal, afterwards queen of France with Francis I. The doctor told this to the Duke of Bejar, and to Don Esteban Manuel Merino Archbishop of Bari, who was then Cardinal, and these señores by their influence actually gained him the appointment in the year next following. Being in Valladolid in the beginning of April, 1527, Zechiel announced that the Empress would be delivered of a boy. Doctor Eugenio told it again to Don Diego de Zuñiga and to his brother Don Pedro, then at that court, and in fact the Empress did give birth to the prince Philip on the twenty-second of that month.

“Finally, on the fifth of May in that same year Zechiel communicated to Torralba that the next morning the City of Rome would be taken by the imperial troops, and as the doctor wished to be present at so great an event in the city which he regarded as almost his own, he prayed the angel to convey him thither in time to see it. The angel consented, and they both set out together from Valladolid on foot about eleven o'clock at night, and at a short distance from the city Zechiel gave Torralba a stick full of knots, and said to him, *Shut thine eyes—be not afraid—keep hold of this, and no harm will happen to thee.* But happening to open his eyes, he seemed to be so near the sea that he could touch the water, and was

suddenly enveloped in a very dark cloud that instantly became so bright that Torralba was afraid he should be burnt, which when Zechiel observed, he said, *Do not fear the evil beast*. Shutting his eyes again, after a little time he seemed to be on the earth, and Zechiel bade him look about and see if he could tell where he was. The Doctor looked around, observed the objects, knew that he was in Rome, and answered, *We are in the tower of Nova*, and just then the clock of the Castle of St. Angelo struck five, that is to say twelve at night, Spanish time, so that they made their journey in one hour. Torralba walked the streets of Rome with Zechiel, and afterwards saw the houses sacked—went into the house of the Bishop Lopis, a German by nation, who lived in the tower of Santa Ginia,—saw the Constable of France, Charles de Bourbon, die,—saw the Pope imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, with all that happened in that terrible day, and returned to Valladolid in an hour and a half, where Zechiel took leave of him with these words, *Now thou oughtest to believe whatever I tell thee*. The doctor told the news, and when confirmation of them reached the Court, and the event exactly tallied with his account of it, Torralba, at that time physician of the Admiral of Castilla, was everywhere reputed to be a great and true necromancer, wizard, enchanter and magician.

“These reports occasioned the delation which led to his imprisonment in Cuenca early in the year 1528, and when this man came out at the general public Auto-de-Fé on the sixth day of March, 1531, after more than three years’ imprisonment, and the extract of process was read according to custom, the Spanish public paid more attention to this marvellous case than to those of all the Tribunals put together in the Autos of that year.

“Many were the accounts sent to Madrid, and as different one from the other as the ears and imaginations of those who had heard the process read. Hence

the poetic licences of Luis Zapota in the poem of *Carlos Famoso*, thirty years after the event, and the tale of Cervantes in the person of *Don Quixote*, eighty years after. But the narrations of both must be corrected (says Llorente) by mine, which is taken from the process itself, the formation of which it is right that I should describe.

“The informer was Don Diego de Zuñiga, his friend, who, after being quite as mad as Doctor Eugenio, settled down, like many of his class, into a superstitious fanatic. The two made their general confessions with an Apostolic missionary friar, as devoid of common sense as Don Diego Zuñiga. They related the most trifling occurrences of their lives, and sacrificed the lives, the honour, and the property of their nearest relatives and friends to what they call the law of God, as if His Divine Majesty had not said, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.*”

On the information of Zuñiga, Torralba was sent to prison by the Inquisitors of Cuenca, and at once confessed all that had been reported about the angel Zechiel and his doings, and in due time the Inquisitors met in order to prepare a sentence. But they could not agree, and therefore the case was referred to the Council of the Supreme, which decreed on the 4th of December, 1528, that Doctor Eugenio Torralba should be put to torture, so far as his health and age would permit, “that he might declare what had been his intention in receiving and keeping the spirit Zechiel—whether he really knew that it was a bad spirit, as one of the witnesses says he had been told,—whether there was any pact to receive it,—if so, what the agreement was,—how the receiving it was effected,—and if then, or after, he made use of any conjurations to invoke the spirit.”

He was tortured accordingly, and made eight contradictory declarations. Up to that time he had persisted in saying that Zechiel was a good spirit, but now said that, for bringing him into all that suffering, he considered him a bad one.

"The Inquisitors," Llorente affirms, "believed the tales told by Doctor Torralba, and having taken a new declaration on March 6th, 1529, delayed their sentence for a year through compassion, hoping that so famous a necromancer might be converted, and confess the pacts and witcheries which he had always denied. His final answer was that he was very penitent, and confessed all his faults, but that he could not confess pacts or witcheries, for he had not committed any, and could not promise that he would never see Zechiel again, for if he came of his own accord, he could not help seeing him, and could only promise that he would never call for him, nor comply with any proposals he might make.

"Those Inquisitors of Cuenca were so foolish as to ask Torralba what Zechiel said of the persons and the doctrine of Martin Luther and Desiderius Erasmus. Doctor Eugenio, who knew more sleeping than they when they were awake, answered that Zechiel reprobated them both, but with the difference that he considered Luther the worse man, and Erasmus very clever in governing, although they held correspondence with each other by letters. With this answer the Inquisitors were content."

Final sentence being given on March 6th, 1531, the doctor was condemned — besides abjurations — to penance of prison and sambenito so long as the Inquisitor-General might please—not to speak or correspond with Zechiel again—and not to listen to what he might say of his own accord. However, the Inquisitor-General, Cardinal Manrique, forgave him the penance, saying that he was satisfied with his repentance, and that he had already suffered enough with four years' imprisonment.

Enough has now been written by way of example, and it only remains to make a general observation. While there is great diversity of opinion among writers on the Black Arts in relation to the Inquisition, and while the practice of Inquisitors has been very

various, one important distinction appears to have been recognised from the earlier times until the present, a distinction between *mere* and *heretical* witchcraft, divination, etc. There was a question whether diviners and the like were to be treated as heretics, or suspected of heresy, and as such to be subject to the Inquisitors of heresy. The answer is thus given by Eymeric:—"Not as mere diviners, etc., but as having contracted the guilt of heresy, they must be regarded who render to demons the honour of divine worship, (*latricæ*) or such worship as is given to saints and angels (*dulicæ*), who rebaptise children, or do things of the like kind, when it is for the sake of divining things to come, or penetrating the hidden secrets of the heart, which things indeed savour of manifest heresy. And such fortune-tellers or diviners cannot escape the judgment of the Inquisitors, but are punished by the laws made against heretics. Heretical diviners must be given over to the secular arm." Pegna notes on this that that Sortilege, etc., is heretical, in which any one denies God and the sacraments of the Church, or used Sacramentals in Sortilege or devil-worship. The two wizards caught in Leghorn were not of the lowest sort, and Doctor Torralba was a gentleman in his way; but the vulgar herd of practitioners were unutterably filthy and profane. The inferior clergy were much too fond of acquainting themselves with their doings, which were grossly immoral, but only became heretical when, in secret assemblies, they caricatured the Sacraments of the Romish Church, and blasphemed all that is holy in Christianity itself.

* *Directorium Inquisitorum Eymerici*. Venetiis, 1607. Pars II. Quæstio xlii., De Sortilegis et Divinatoribus.

CHAPTER XLII.

SICILY AND VENICE.

LITTLE misunderstandings between civil and ecclesiastical authorities were but incidents natural to their mutual relation, no worse than those lovers' quarrels which are said to be the renewal of love, or family disagreements at any moment hushed by the first murmur of unfriendliness out of doors. But when, under such disagreements, there is a latent wrong, it will sooner or later utterly estrange the lovers or divide the house: so it came to pass in Italy. A sharp quarrel in Sicily, and an inveterate schism between Rome and Venice on a question of inalienable right, fixed an element of discontent in the heart of Italian society that found an effectual outburst in due time.

There is a letter among the Egerton manuscripts,* bearing the signature of "The Prince," afterwards Philip II. of Spain, when he had not yet attained the seventeenth year of his age, written by him to the Marquis of Terra Nova, Admiral and Constable of the Kingdom of Sicily, and Counsellor of his Cæsarian Majesty Charles V., and of the Prince himself. It is dated Dec. 16th, 1543.

The young Prince, doubtless at the dictation of his father, who is just now on ill terms with the Pope, and perhaps wishes to avoid having his affairs complicated by any unseasonable question with the Inquisitors whom he courts and uses, addresses the Viceroy in such words as these:—"Beloved Counsellor, you know already what has passed concerning the whipping which, not being well informed, while President of

* Bibl. Eg., 1506.

that kingdom, you gave to two familiars of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, from which has arisen so great disfavour and contempt towards the said Holy Office, that it has never since been able to act with its accustomed and due authority, but so far from it that many persons in that kingdom have been so daring as to cast off all restraint, and commit insults and even assaults on the officers and Ministers of the Inquisition, and hinder and disturb the same in the exercise of their office. Information and complaint of this having reached us, the Very Reverend Cardinal of Toledo, Inquisitor-General, and the members of the Council of the General Inquisition have consulted with His Majesty, and it has been at length resolved that it is right and proper that you should do penance for the said excess, although, in consideration of your many and great services to His Majesty, he has intimated that he would be glad if the sentence might be moderated. The Inquisitor-General, therefore, and the Council, with great temperance and consideration, have ordered the Inquisitor Góngora to speak with you and admonish you to undergo the said penance, which, considering the quality of the case and the harm that has resulted from it, may be very much less than what you must know from report it might be." Having been signed by the Prince, the letter was countersigned by the Inquisitors.

It is hard to say which was the greater indignity; the public sentence pronounced on a faithful servant representing the person and authority of the Sovereign in Sicily, or the contemptuous request to punish him gently! The indignity sank deep, and no successor of the Viceroy could forget the degradation of his office in the person of the Marquis of Terra Nova.

Thirty-three years later, one of those successors in the Vice-royalty, the famous Marcantonio Colonna, set himself to wipe out the disgrace, maintained a dignified conflict with the Inquisitors during ten years at least, and after another period of nearly equal length, they

were compelled to pay some respect to Royal majesty, but still had full permission to do whatever they would with so-called heretics. A memorial to Philip II. from the Council of the Inquisition at Madrid is preserved in the same collection, whence I derive my information.

For some reason which the memorialists do not divulge, the Council of Castile thought it necessary to remove the Inquisitors resident in Palermo, and replace them by two others—Juan de Rojas from Valencia, and Diego de Ahedo from Zaragoza, which they reported to His Majesty *after it was done*, saying nothing about it to the Viceroy, whom they treated with silent disrespect. The two newly-appointed Inquisitors came to Palermo (Oct. 1st, 1577), at a time when the representative of royalty was absent, but fell to work at once on their own responsibility, as if they were masters of the whole island, making prisoners, no doubt,* and putting into execution their provision for “the visit” and reformation which they came to make. While they were making ready for the terrific *visit*, the Viceroy Marcantonio Colonna, whose fame as a general and abilities as a governor ought to have engaged their fear, even if they knew not how to render him their honour, returned to the seat of government, but the two Spanish Inquisitors believed themselves above the necessity of paying him obeisance, and went on with preparations for a day when Palermo should keep silence in their presence, and not a voice be lifted up with authority in public save their own. Some expression of his displeasure reached their ears. He complained of their having proceeded without first obtaining his permission to exercise a power of life and death in the kingdom placed under his command. In sudden haste they ran into his presence to “satisfy him,” and to impress upon him a due sense of the value of the Holy Inquisition for “keeping and defending his dominions.” He told

* *comenzaron á usar sus oficios.*

them that his soldiers defended the kingdom, and gave them to understand very clearly that he looked upon them and their office with very doubtful favour.

Failing thus to satisfy him of their importance, they wrote him a letter which they intended to breathe much humility, but its eloquence was wasted, and the notary by whose hand they sent it brought it back again unopened, "a thing very foreign," forsooth, "from his office and obligation." Bent on giving him satisfaction, and getting on good terms with him, the Inquisitor-General himself then wrote Marcantonio, from Madrid, a letter full of benevolence, but it produced no effect whatever, beyond giving him another opportunity of reproving the two Spanish Inquisitors, who had presumed to act as if there were no king over them. Nevertheless, they persisted in doing their own will, and wrote to the King thus haughtily:—

"The two Inquisitors having been ordered to take measures for laying an embargo on the property which Hipolyto Azeti, Jacobo Vardi, Cristobal Riva and Company have in that kingdom, to the amount of twenty-four thousand ducats, which they received in this Court (Madrid) for the provision and expenses of the Archbishop of A——, the credit of the said merchants having failed, and the Ambassador having given him information thereof from Rome, the said Viceroy sent the two Inquisitors an injunction by two notaries of Palermo, not to take any action in the matter without his licence, which they call *Exequatur*. This procedure of his, and the sending his injunction by notaries not in the secret of that Inquisition, was very extraordinary, and exceedingly prejudicial to the action of the Holy Office; for he will pretend to do the same in respect to other business of the Inquisition, which would tend to its total hindrance and destruction."

Meanwhile the Inquisitors, nothing daunted, went on their way. Intending on the second Sunday of Lent next following to publish an Edict of the Faith in the

great Church of Palermo, and believing themselves competent to send round a crier to summon all persons to be present at the publication under peril of censure, and requiring all secular governors and judges to render the canonical oath that they would favour and help the Holy Office, they made a merit of not commanding the Viceroy to be present, but begging him to come, and afterwards complained that although it was his duty to be there before any one else, to assist and authorise the Act, he answered that on that day he should be present at a Sermon which would have to be delivered in the Monastery of St. Francis, while it was well known that on that day it is not usual for the Inquisitors to permit any other Sermon to be delivered in the same city beside the Sermon of the Edict. However, *they* permitted the Sermon in the Franciscan monastery, and thither the Viceroy went, giving rise to many observations.

Nor was this all their complaint. In the absence of the King's representative from the Great Church, the Inquisitors ordered their seats to be placed in a part of the building where his ought to have been, and hearing of this, he sent and had the seat removed, leaving their reverences unseated in presence of the public, which caused great scandal and confusion, "with notable injury and disfavour to the Inquisitors."

They were believed to have appointed a multitude of familiars in Sicily, estimated at twenty-four thousand, and the Viceroy complained to the King accordingly. They denied the report, and acknowledged no more than twelve hundred and twenty-three, but there could be no evidence produced on either side, since the appointment of a familiar was secret, except when circumstances favoured or allowed publicity. Many persons, however, chose to be known as such for the sake of the honour and privileges attached to the office by those who gave it. One familiar the Judges of the Stratico suspected of harbouring banditti, and sent him in custody to the Inquisition itself,

there to be kept until the case could be examined. None ventured to appear as witnesses against him, but the Viceroy, persuaded of his guilt, then took him into his own custody, and kept him in prison for several months. Over this case they fought. The Inquisitors cursed and excommunicated the judges for obeying the King, and the King commanded the clergy to absolve the judges. Then the Inquisitors declared themselves, as clergymen, exempt from secular jurisdiction, and the grand question of the right of Kings and the immunity of priests was thrown open and debated hotly on both sides.

The Alguacil, or grand jailor of the Inquisition of Messina was imprisoned by the Viceroy because he refused to accept an appointment in the service of the King, on the plea that he was wanted by the Holy Office to search ships for heretics; another servant of the Inquisition who received the prisoners that were brought thither, was also imprisoned, and the Inquisitors were forbidden to receive any persons as *their* prisoners, without permission of the Viceroy previously asked and had, and produced in writing.

Then the Viceroy denied the right of the Inquisitors to judge in many cases which he considered fell under the jurisdiction of civil courts. In their appeal against Marcantonio Colonna, they declared that although the same claims had been often set up against the Holy Office they had never been allowed, but the Viceroys of Sicily had always been compelled to yield to the ecclesiastical authority. "And for not having so done, the Duke of Terra Nova, who is yet alive, and his father, when they were lieutenants of your Majesty and Viceroys in that kingdom, and had committed some excesses against that Inquisition of much less importance and consideration than those which Marcantonio has been guilty of, Your Majesty, and his Cæsarian Majesty Don Carlos our Lord, have been pleased to command that *the said Dukes should fulfil the penances which the Inquisitors of that kingdom gave them, and they did so publicly.*"

The memorialists ask unlimited power for the Holy Office over all persons, the Viceroy included, to do with them as they pleased, and it does not appear that they are rebuked for the exorbitance of their demand. Their quarrel began in 1577 and continued until 1586 without provoking any decisive conclusion from King Philip, whose only object was to keep both authorities on the ground in hope of availing himself in every contingency of either, or of both, without any regard to justice on its own account. At length Marcantonio Colonna was dismissed, and the Count of Alva put in his place, but only one salutary result followed by the change, in diminishing, to some extent, the encouragement given to crime by the Inquisitors and their familiars, with whom assassins, thieves, and wretches of every variety had uniformly found asylum, and received for their crimes absolution without limit.

But for the resistance of Viceroys and their magistrates, the Autos of Spain would have been equalled in Sicily, but we do not find record of such spectacles, not even in the reign of Philip, and but few traces of them at any other time now remain. Only three *Autos-de-Fé* at Palermo in the next century are found on record. At the first, in 1640, a Calvinist, a relapsed Mussulman, and a visionary—as they describe them—were burnt at the stake. At the second, in 1658, an Augustinian Friar, who in a fit of passion, had slain an insolent familiar, suffered the horrid penalty. At the third and last celebration, in 1724, an Augustinian Friar and a Benedictine Nun, Suor Geltrudes (a *pinzóchera*, or house-nun), were the sufferers. On the same occasion twenty-six persons, who escaped being relaxed to the secular arm, were reconciled to the Holy Office on being sentenced to be whipped through the town with gags on their mouths, to be kept to hard labour, or to stand in the pillory, according to the relative heinousness of the imputed crimes.* It has been reported that the

* GOODWIN (*ut supra*, page 209 of this volume).

expense of burning Sister Gertrude was recovered from her family by the payment of a yearly tax, continued until the present time ; but the story has been contradicted on good authority. In Sicily it is regarded as incredible, and the very fact that it is so regarded indicates a state of feeling in that island far superior to the passive servility of the people in some other parts of Italy and of Spain, and in colonies where the estate of the victim has been charged for the cost of his imprisonment and execution. The Sicilians had not sunk so low.

In Venice, even more than in Sicily, the spirit of national independence rose in opposition to the priesthood, and revolted against the tyranny of Rome, and if the Venetian Republicans had been only as humane as they were independent, such an institution as the Inquisition could not have existed among them. But there, more than anywhere else, the laity took part in the horrid work of persecuting their fellows to death. However, their jealousy of ecclesiastics, although it did not in the least degree soften their nature, did operate beneficially in keeping alive the principle of laic independence in one portion of a Church whose peculiar characteristic is a pretence of absolute power in the head over all the members. The constancy with which the Great Commercial Republic watched over the life and liberty of its citizens when endangered by an alien power having its chief seat in Rome, served to encourage the people of other Italian States in that general aspiration after liberty which has at length resulted in the establishment of constitutional government, with a Sovereign enthroned in the City of the Cæsars and the Popes, and the proclamation of Religious Liberty in the very Chambers of what was once the Holy Office.

The reader has already been reminded of the memorable controversy between Rome and Venice, and in the preceding pages of this volume there are incidental notices of the conjoint action of lay and

clerical Inquisitors, and some instances of drowning heretics in the sea—a silent, easy, cowardly method of putting dogmatising Lutherans to silence. All that now remains to be done is to take note of the action of the civil magistracy in that Republic for maintaining a constitutional preponderance over this deadly institution of the Papal Church. Fra Paolo Sarpi, an eminent jurist, distinguished also by great ecclesiastical knowledge, and the well-earned title of “Theologian of the most Serene Republic,”* wrote, at the request of the Senate, a summary of the laws of the Republic on the Inquisition,† from which I borrow the following statement:—

The Council of Ten, and Junta, in their Session of November 22nd, 1551, laid it down as a fundamental law that in all the Venetian Dominion one uniform course of proceeding should be observed; and in a concordat concluded between the Republic and Pope Julius III., the following provisions were adopted, nearly all of them having been previously settled by the Venetian Senate or Great Council.

By ancient and public deliberation, three Senators were deputed to be Inquisitors against heresy, to be present at everything that was done in the office of the Inquisition in Venice. So in all the subject cities there were deputed rectors who should be personally present at the formation of processes, and at everything done by Bishops, Visitors and Inquisitors in matters of heresy. This ancient institution was confirmed by constant practice, and eventually by the

* A full account of him may be found in a highly interesting biography by FRA FULGENZIO MICANZIO, bearing the title *Vita del Padre Paolo dell' Ordine de' Servi, e Teologo della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*. His baptismal name was Pietro. When he became a Friar it was changed to Paolo. De Dominis, who edited, in the original Italian, his *History of the Council of Trent*, changed it whimsically, and offensively to Fra Paolo himself, into *Pietro Soave Polano*.

† *Discorso dell' origine, forma, leggi, ed uso dell' Uffizio dell' Inquisitore nella Città o Dominio de Venetia*. Del P. PAOLO dell' ordine, etc. Venetia, MDCXXXVIII.

concordat now referred to. Many special provisions made from time to time were incorporated in the code framed for the Republic, by Fra Paolo.

In the absence of the Rectors or Rector in any Court of Inquisition, a substitute, or substitutes, was provided by statute, but no one employed in the affairs of Rome could act there as a representative of the Republic. The assistants, as these representatives were called, were not to interfere judicially in any act of the Tribunal concerning the sentence to be pronounced on the person accused of heresy, nor take any part in judging of the charge against him, but was only to watch the conduct of the ecclesiastical judges, and act or interfere in certain cases. If, for example, "it was necessary for the honour of God, the extirpation of heresy, and the punishment of persons guilty of great wickedness, to execute promptly the punishment determined, or to lend favour, force, or help to the execution. Or if the ecclesiastics should seem to be usurping temporal authority, or acting precipitately, so as to bring disgrace upon the city, or cause tumult in the city or the state, or disturb the public peace, or weaken authority, or act with unjust and manifest oppression of the subject under pretext of punishing an offence, it would be the duty of the Assistant to interpose, but in the most prudent and delicate manner, so as to keep the ecclesiastic within the bounds of justice and equity; and if this were more than he could do, obtain a delay of the execution of the unjust sentence, report the case to the Prince, and await his orders. Or when a matter of great moment was proposed or taken into deliberation by the Ecclesiastics which the Assistants might apprehend to be prejudicial to the temporal authority, or might lead to tumult, scandal, or oppression, they should prudently and cleverly manage to gain time, and meanwhile write to the Prince, lay before him the reasons of their apprehension, and await his answer. Or when they saw the ecclesiastical judges

negligent in extirpating heresy, or too slow in despatching cases, that the contagion might not take root, they should prudently and dexterously urge them to the performance of their duty, and if, with all their endeavour, they could not succeed, give information to the Prince.

The Assistants were not to take any oath of fidelity or secrecy, or anything else, at the hands of the Inquisitor, or other ecclesiastic, but should observe both, for the sake of the faithfulness and secrecy owing to the Prince. For this reason also they were expected to bring account, from time to time, of everything that seemed to be of importance, or likely to become so. When an Inquisitor died, fell sick, or was removed, they were to give immediate notice to the Prince, or to the Ambassador at Rome. They were not to admit any new Inquisitor who did not bring letters from the Prince.

The Assistants were to be present at every case dealt with by the Inquisition, not only against secular persons but also against ecclesiastics, even though they were Regulars, and that of the same monastery as the Inquisitor himself. This was insisted on again and again, by the College, by the Council of Ten, and by the Senate, and was enforced, how high soever might be any prelate concerned. By no pretence whatever should they allow themselves to be kept out of the way on any such occasions, nor be induced to fancy themselves at liberty to allow the least thing to be said or done without their presence. Anything so done would be null and void. They should not suffer it to be carried into effect, but might permit a new process to be formed in their presence. The Pope had, indeed, desired that a case might be prepared without their presence for dispatch elsewhere, out of the Venetian dominions, but the Senate would not grant it. That this rule might not be evaded, it was ordained that in every Decree or Act the notary should insert the names of every Bishop and Inquisitor as judges, and the name and office of every assistant.

No decree or precept from any authority outside the Venetian Dominion should be admitted, nor should any writing received from Rome or elsewhere be quoted, though any member of the Court might make use of it for himself as a private document. Neither should any cases be transferred to foreign courts, nor any prisoners be sent to foreign prisons, without previous application to the Prince, and his consent obtained.

The Assistants were not to suffer anyone to be put under arrest by the Inquisition unless it were certain that his case was one of heresy. If the case was doubtful or difficult, all proceedings were to be stayed until reference was made to the Prince, and his decision obtained. Therefore they were not to allow the Inquisitors to proceed against fortune-tellers and others of the sort, unless heresy were mixed with the superstition. All cases wherein this was doubtful were to be sent to civil courts. If mischief were said to be done by witches, the witches were to be taken to the civil magistrate, to answer for the mischief to him, not to the Inquisition. The same rule was to be observed in regard to Blasphemy. Bigamy, too, was to be treated as a civil offence, not a heresy. The same was said of Usury. [For all these offences we have seen that, in other countries, multitudes were burnt.]

The Inquisitors were absolutely forbidden, under any pretext, to exercise any sort of jurisdiction upon Jews or other unbelievers in Christianity, or upon any Christians whatever not belonging to the Church of Rome. Neither the Roman, nor any other foreign Inquisitions were permitted to pursue fugitives within the Venetian territory.

Confiscation of the property of condemned heretics was absolutely forbidden. All their property was to be given to the lawful heirs.

The office of Inquisition could not receive a Papal Bull, nor any order from the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, whether new or old, without first

submitting it to the Prince for his approval, nor could any prohibition of books be allowed, nor any interference with arts, or trades, or professions.

No Inquisitor might administer an oath, and if he had a complaint against anyone he was to take his complaint to a civil magistrate. Neither might he issue any monition to communities or to individuals, nor interfere with ministers of justice in the discharge of their duties. By permission of the Assistants, however, there were certain formal notices specified in an Act of the Senate (May 10th, 1608) which they might publish, but not even then without permission. Any attempt to introduce other matters was to be prevented.

Subject to these restrictions and restraints the Inquisition might act, and the State would help it, but after all its jurisdiction was limited to a comparatively narrow circle. Within that circle its power was repressed by the perpetual presence and jealous authority of watchers empowered to silence every arbitrary sentence, and report every objectionable act or utterance. There was—*No secret—No torture—No privilege—No control from Rome*—No contempt of*

* *No control from Rome. No interference with arts or trades. No publication of Bulls. No prohibition of books.* Acts to these effects were promulgated in Venice during the years 1606—1610. But in the year 1606, the following Edict was printed in the Vatican, and posted on the gates of St. Peter, the gates of the Palace of the Inquisition, and on the Campo di Flora. I translate from one of the original sheets to show how the Court of Rome ignored all laws except its own.

Edict of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lords Cardinals Inquisitors General.

Since Robert Meietti, Venetian, Printer of books, has dared, and every day dares to print pernicious books, containing heresies, impieties, and errors of various kinds, the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lords Cardinals, General Inquisitors against heretical pravity, wishing to provide lest the faithful in Christ be infected with errors by reading them, admonish all and every one of whatever state condition and pre-eminence that they dare not buy books of any kind that have ever been printed, or ever may be printed, by the said Robert Meietti, under pain of excommunication

the principles of law, or if there were, no such contempt was sanctioned by the constitution of the Court.

The mere existence of such a maimed and humiliated Inquisition in a country which, however politically separate from Rome, was by position and by language part of Italy, and that retained its character of independence for nearly a hundred years, from the time when the horrid institution bearing the same name in Spain and Portugal, in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and in most other parts of Italy was in fullest vigour, until the age when its power was everywhere waning, could not but contribute powerfully to the establishment of the principles of constitutional secular government, and to a recognition of the maxims of Christian truth which are now so generally admitted into the religion and the policy of every Christian country.

latæ sententiæ that will be incurred by the very fact, from which they cannot be absolved until the article of death, except by the Holy Apostolic See, and with other punishments to be inflicted at the pleasure of the same Most Illustrious Lords. Commanding all and every booksellers and dealers in books everywhere existing not to buy the books aforesaid, or to sell what they have already bought, nor in the matter of books to presume to deal, or to have any commerce with the said Robert Meietti, under penalty of the same excommunication and also a fine of five hundred ducats, besides other punishments to be inflicted at the pleasure of those Most Illustrious Lords. We will that when this edict is published in the City it shall apply to all, as if it were personally intimated to each one. We nevertheless enjoin on ordinaries of places, or on Inquisitors of heretical pravity, that they cause this edict to be published in those parts, of which printed copies also, and copies furnished with seal of the Holy Roman Inquisition, or of any other, or of any person constituted in ecclesiastical dignity, shall be received with full faith everywhere, judicially or otherwise.

Rome. In the General Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, October 30th, MDCVI. *Quintilianus Adrianus, Not.*

CHAPTER XLIII.

DECLINE AND EXTINCTION.

WE now survey the inevitable decline of the Supreme and Universal Inquisition towards extinction. Two centuries, at least, have yet to pass, before its action ceases, and during that period many crimes will be committed, and some murders; but the zeal of Inquisitors will be intermittent, and the incidents to be recorded will show how, amidst the social and religious changes of modern times, the inquisitorial office became increasingly difficult.

Resistance was made in all directions. The irrepressible dissatisfaction in Sicily, and the signal results of the old Venetian controversy, as detailed in the preceding chapter, with the struggle between the Court of Rome and the King and clergy in France; the growing strength of Scriptural Christianity in Europe and the world; the advance of constitutional principles in legislation and in government; in short, the concurrent influences which have led to the great events of our own day, gradually weakened the agencies, and contracted the operations, of the Holy Office.

British influences were not inoperative. Castelvetro, the reader may remember, was released from imprisonment in Venice, on the request of the British ambassador, in 1612. In 1662 two devoted Quakeresses, truly Christian ladies, were brought safely to England in a British ship of war, after four years' imprisonment in Malta, then under the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Maltese Inquisitor seems to have had the use of cells in a common prison in Valetta, where his victims were incarcerated. Those ladies, *Catherine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, were thrown into a dark

and pestiferous dungeon, where they must soon have perished, if a physician had not certified that it was impossible for them to live in such a place much longer. Their skin became dry as parchment, the hair fell from their heads, in consequence of extreme heat; while the stench, with stinging of mosquitos, and an exhausted atmosphere, induced as trying a torture as if they had been racked. Through all their sufferings they endured as seeing Him who is invisible, and never ceased to commune with God in prayer, and to preach Christ to their inexorable tormentors. If they had been taken in Rome instead of Malta, it is not likely that they would have escaped with life; but the Grand Masters did in some degree restrain the ecclesiastical authorities, in jealousy of whatever might derogate from their own sovereignty in the island. Other escapes might be related.

The history of Freemasonry, trifling as it may seem, would throw some light on the conflict now begun between this secret society of the Church of Rome, and other societies, also secret, fighting against it in the deepest recesses of civilised society.

Universal disgust with the absolutism of the Continental Governments encouraged the spread of prohibited societies, which were spoken of under the general designation of "Masonic lodges," and which appear to have been, in reality, political clubs. The Inquisition undertook to disperse those lodges; and some of the "brethren" who suffered persecution in Spain and Portugal favoured the world with narratives of their experience in the audience-chambers and the cells. Freemasonry entered Italy, it is said, at Florence; and there, as in other countries, was forbidden by the Government; while Clement XII., not without reason jealous of another secret society set up in opposition to his own, published a condemnatory Bull (A.D. 1738), and, in the year following, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome issued an edict denouncing capital punishment of all Freemasons detected within the Papal State. Such

an edict could scarcely be committed to the Inquisitors for execution without causing many deaths.

A newly-constituted society, ramified throughout Europe, everywhere professing to be established for purposes of mutual benevolence, and sometimes numbering with its members persons of high station, who sought admission for the sake of becoming privy to proceedings that could not otherwise be known, and perhaps in hope of preventing conspiracies against themselves, could not fail to acquire considerable influence. It would be difficult for the same man to be a familiar of the Holy Office, and a free and accepted Mason, and keep both conflicting secrets. And such a confederation could not be assailed, as it was, without bringing upon the assailants in *their* lodges, inquisitorial, provincial and supreme, a certain recoil of hatred and of well-concerted vengeance. Control of religion, science, and politics, control of the ruling powers, and control or extirpation of revolutionary conspirators, was now attempted by the Holy Office; but it was all too much. Endeavouring to compass an impossibility, it was losing all. The Inquisitors had desperately thrown themselves into a stream of political partizanship, which, swelling into a torrent, carried them from their footing in every land beyond the territory of the Church.

Hoping to strengthen their cause in Naples, where there was enough of ignorance, wickedness, and civil despotism to serve their purpose for a time, they proposed to establish a Tribunal in that city, where such an establishment had hitherto been resisted. The Archbishops of Naples did their best to forward the project there. The priests were pleased at the thought of getting so effective an instrument of oppression as good as into their own hands, instead of having to send away Neapolitan heretics to Rome for treatment. The King was not unwilling to have such an instrument of terror at his bidding in Naples as well as in Madrid. The Archbishops had already begun, without

formal sanction, a little Inquisition on their own responsibility, with a few consultors, a notary, and a prison. There was even a little marble slab let into the wall, and lettered SANTO UFIZIO. The Archbishop volunteer Inquisitor now used his own seal, and captured and imprisoned his suspects. Four condemned heretics were in the dungeons, and one of them had made a solemn abjuration, almost in public. But when, emboldened by the impunity of his predecessors, the present chief ventured to move more openly, the Court of Naples, in alarm, maintained that his proceedings were contrary to law. This was the question in 1746, when the people rallied round their superiors, and every one cried out that the horrid Inquisition had risen up amongst them in reality, although at first without the name. A delegate, chosen by the inhabitants, went to the King, and represented that the laws were trampled on; and that in return for the royal favours bestowed from time immemorial on the Church, the clergy gave nothing but insult. Readily assenting to the representation of the people, the King issued an edict annulling all the proceedings of the Archbishop Inquisitor, and prohibiting the whole inquisitorial apparatus. To make sure of submission, he banished two canons, and ordered that, for the future, the ecclesiastical court should proceed in the ordinary way, and communicate all their causes to the civil court; and by several articles of this kind in the regal statute, he weakened if he did not utterly nullify the power of the clergy over the persons of the laity.

The Court of Rome, having calculated on making the Neapolitan Inquisition their own, were greatly disappointed, and thought it well to send Cardinal Landi, Archbishop of Benevento, a personage of high reputation for sagacity, to treat with the King for some modification of his edict. But he could advance no further than the city-gate. A few daring Neapolitans met his Eminence at the entrance, and coolly

offered him the alternative—to surrender his life or to go back by the way he came. He went back, of course. The sagacity of the Cardinal was not less quick than the sagacity of the King. His Majesty obtained from his subjects a free-will offering of 30,000 ducats, in consideration of his humanity in letting the Cardinal go, and forgiving the rudeness of the people, and putting down the Inquisition.* The affair made a great noise, and did much good.

When the Empress Maria Theresa, in common with other sovereigns, abolished many dangerous ecclesiastical privileges, she required the Archbishop and the Inquisitor in Milan to refrain from vexatious prohibition of books. She saw that it was no less absurd than troublesome that good books were suppressed, while demoralising and hurtful publications were allowed free circulation; and she desired that the Holy Office should cease from prohibitory censure. Archbishop and Inquisitor failing to satisfy so reasonable a desire, Her Majesty took the reins into her own hand, and commanded that censorship of books should thenceforth be exercised by the civil magistrates alone.

About the same time (February 21st, 1769) the Duke of Parma published a decree, lamenting that a foreign tribunal, administered by aliens and monks, under the title of "Inquisition of the Holy Office," had been introduced into that State; declared that it belonged to him alone, as protector of religion and the Church, to provide for the conservation of sound doctrines; and ordained that, on the death of the Inquisitor of Parma, causes of faith should be brought to the bishops for decision, none other presuming to interfere therewith. But he promised to afford the bishops the aid of the secular arm when it became necessary to inflict capital punishment on heretics; and declared that, on the death of the Inquisitor, the inmates of the dungeons would be his own prisoners,

* MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia*, anno 1746.

subject to the ducal jurisdiction. This theory of royal right to put men to death for daring to obey their conscience is bad enough; but, practically considered, the measure of the Duke of Parma was transitional; and Parma, like Venice and Milan, with all the other Italian provinces, is now happily lost in *one Italy*, independent of Papal authority.

Similar measures were taken in Tuscany by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, and his ministers. The Tuscan Inquisition was eminently hateful, on account of iniquitous imprisonments, atrocious cruelties, and a censorship no longer to be suffered. Good and bad were alike the victims; and judgment was given rather for the profit of the Court of Rome than for the reformation of manners, or conservation of the faith. Every one declared it to be utterly intolerable. The Regency, during the minority of the Grand Duke, had appointed a civil delegate to examine books, without the intervention of an Inquisitor; and when the Inquisitors proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over "sinners against the Holy Office," they were commanded to admit two lay assessors. Rome, always impatient of legal restraints, complained of persecution. Florence answered by producing facts to justify the necessity of strong and sovereign restraints, at once deprived the Inquisitors of their *sbirri*, or familiars, and also abolished conventual prisons, which were, as a succession of Bulls has already been adduced to show, branches of the Inquisition in monasteries.*

Yet now and then the Holy Office found opportunities to make itself useful. Not unfrequently it had interposed, or professed to interpose, for checking the licentiousness of solicitant confessors, however peccant the Inquisitors themselves were often suspected or accused of being. Just now, while tottering to its fall, it is called upon to render a momentary service to the Pope in a good cause.

Pope Clement XIV., after a long struggle, found

* BOTTA, lib. xlviii.

courage to suppress the Jesuit Society, answering to the almost universal demand of Popedom for the extinction of a community that had everywhere become odious. But the Jesuits, with a portion of the secular priesthood, and their adherents, were numerous and strong enough to do considerable mischief. In Italy they had recourse to superstition and fanaticism. One Sister Maria Theresa of the Heart of Jesus, in Viterbo, in conjunction with Father Anthony-Mary Coltraro, had established a little conspiracy for inventing and publishing the Sister's visions and prophecies, foretelling all manner of evil to the Pope. Another girl, Bernadina Renzi, and other Jesuits, full of prophecies and visions, were also raising a great outcry against the Pope, who, a few months after the suppression of the company in 1771, sent the two prophetesses to Montefiascone, where they were taken into safe keeping, and strictly examined by the Inquisitors. Thence, they were transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome, together with several ex-Jesuits;* but Clement XIV. did not long survive the act which made him hateful to the Jesuits; impostures which are so generally gainful to the church, were soon forgiven, and after a few years Jesuits, if not Inquisitors, were for a little while longer restored to power.

Ferdinand VI., King of the Two Sicilies, abolished the Sicilian Inquisition in the year 1782, declaring that it had been ever hateful to the people, disobedient to the sovereign, and hostile to the laws. His Majesty marked a confession of the Inquisitor-General, that "the inviolable Secret is the soul of the Inquisition;" and after showing that, under that confession, it could no longer be suffered without violation of reason and humanity, he decreed that it was for ever abolished and extinguished in that kingdom.† "The Viceroy Caraccioli entered the hall of the Holy Office in state,

* *Histoire du Pontificat de Clément XIV.* Par AUGUSTIN THEINER. Paris, 1852. Tome ii., page 484.

† Cited in the *Discusion del Proyecto del Decreto, sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisicion.* Cadiz, 1813, p. 33.

and ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty. The ill-gotten wealth of the Office was forfeited to the Crown. The iron cages containing human skulls were taken down, and split asunder, in order that every trace of the odious institution might be blotted out of memory. The archives were ordered to be burnt, and the ashes to be scattered to the wind. So strictly was this order enforced, that out of an immense mass of papers and parchments, but a single volume of records escaped the flames. This collection of manuscripts, still preserved in a private library in Palermo, contains the original acts of the Inquisition during the persecution of the Molinists or Quietists between 1681 and 1700.”*

We now approach Rome again. On his invasion of Italy, Napoleon Bonaparte made his appearance at Ancona on the 10th day of February, 1797, and alighted at the palace of the Marquis Trionfi, where he summoned into his presence the Vicar-General, the curates, the chiefs of monastic orders, and the vicar of the Inquisition. He received them with gravity, recommended them to preach the gospel, and not meddle with political affairs, at the same time assuring them that religion should be respected and protected. He reproached the Vicar-General for the flight of the Cardinal Ranuzzi, Bishop of Ancona. “The Bishop of Imola,” said he, “who is a Cardinal, too, has not run away, but I did not see him as I came through. However, he is still at his post.” Bonaparte next commanded the Vicar-General to bring back the Bishop of Ancona at once, and shut him up in the fortress until the fugitive Cardinal-Bishop should arrive. Then, turning to the Vicar of the Holy Office, he gave him his orders in a single sentence: “*Your tribunal is suppressed from this moment. There shall be no more butchers.*”†

We have seen how the Corsican dispersed the Spanish

* GOODWIN (*ut supra*, p. 209 of this volume).

† *Histoire de Pape Pie VII.* Par M. le CHEVALIER ARTAUD. Paris, 1839, chap. ii.

Inquisitors on his approach to Madrid in 1808. The French troops entered Rome in 1809; and, whatever mischief they otherwise did, performed an act of humanity in demolishing, at least in part, the prisons of the Inquisition. It is true that when the Popes returned to Rome after the fall of Bonaparte, they revived the Inquisition in full form, if not in full force; and we know that Leo XII. in 1825 raised another set of prisons, equally numerous and substantial. While those prisons were in progress, the Congregation of Cardinals, with the Pope as their Prefect, carried on their constant business, sitting on the days appointed, just as their predecessors had been seated when in the plenitude of power. But it is also true that the ancient power was gone. For a third time, at least, the prisons of the Roman Inquisition were broken into after the ignominious flight of Pius IX. in 1849, when two prisoners were found there, an aged bishop and a nun. Many persons then in Rome reported the event; but, instead of copying at second hand, I translate a letter addressed to myself by Signor Alessandro Gavazzi, formerly Chaplain-General to the Roman army, in reply to some questions I had to put to him. Under date of March 20th, 1852, he writes thus:—

“MY DEAR SIR,

“In answering your questions concerning the palace of the Inquisition in Rome, I should say that I can only give a few superficial and imperfect notes. So short was the time that it remained open to the public, so great the crowd of persons that pressed to catch a sight of it, and so intense the horror inspired by that accursed place, that I could not obtain a more exact and particular impression.

“I found no instruments of torture, for they were destroyed at the first French invasion, and because such instruments were not used afterwards by the modern Inquisition. I did, however, find in one of the prisons of the second court a furnace, and the

remains of a woman's dress. I shall never be able to believe that that furnace was used for the living, it not being in such a place, or of such a kind, as to be of service to them. Everything, on the contrary, combines to persuade me that it was made use of for horrible deaths, and to consume the remains of victims of inquisitorial executions. Another object of horror I found between the great hall of judgment and the luxurious apartment of the chief jailer, (*Primo Custode*,) the Dominican friar who presides over this diabolical establishment. This was a deep trap, a shaft opening into the vaults under the Inquisition. As soon as the so-called criminal had confessed his offence, the second keeper, who is always a Dominican friar, sent him to the Father Commissary to receive a relaxation of his punishment. With hope of pardon, the confessed culprit would go towards the apartment of the Holy Inquisitor; but in the act of setting foot at its entrance, the trap opened, and the world of the living heard no more of him. I examined some of the earth found in the pit below this trap; it was a compost of common earth, rottenness, ashes, and human hair, fetid to the smell, and horrible to the sight and thought of the beholder.

“But where popular fury reached its highest pitch was in the vaults of St. Pius V. I am anxious that you should note well that this Pope was canonized by the Roman Church especially for his zeal against heretics. I will now describe to you the manner how, and the place where, those Vicars of Jesus Christ handled the living members of Jesus Christ, and show you how they proceeded for their healing. You descend into the vaults by very narrow stairs. A narrow corridor leads you to the several cells, which, for smallness and for stench, are a hundred times more horrible than the dens of lions and tigers in the Colosseum.

“Wandering in this labyrinth of most fearful prisons, which may be called ‘graves for the living,’ I came to

a cell full of skeletons without skulls, buried in lime. The skulls, detached from the bodies, had been collected in a hamper by the first visitors. Whose were those skeletons? And why were they buried in that place and in that manner? I have heard some Popish ecclesiastics, trying to defend the Inquisition from the charge of having condemned its victims to a secret death, say that the palace of the Inquisition was built on a burial-ground belonging, *anciently*, to a hospital for pilgrims, and that the skeletons found were none other than those of pilgrims who had died in that hospital. But everything contradicts this Papistical defence. Suppose that there had been a cemetery there, it could not have had subterranean galleries and cells, laid out with so great regularity; and even if there had been such—against all probability—the remains of bodies would have been removed on laying the foundations of the palace, to leave the space free for the subterranean part of the Inquisition. Besides, it is contrary to the use of common tombs to bury the dead by carrying them through a door at the side; for the mouth of the sepulchre is always at the top. And, again, it has never been the custom in Italy to bury the dead, singly, in quick-lime; but, in time of plague, the dead bodies have been usually laid in a grave until it was sufficiently full, and then quick-lime has been laid over them, to prevent pestilential exhalations, by hastening the decomposition of the infected corpses. This custom was continued some years ago in the cemeteries of Naples, and especially in the daily burial of the poor. Therefore the skeletons found in the Inquisition of Rome could not belong to persons who had died a natural death in a hospital; nor could any one, under such a supposition, explain the mystery of all the body being buried in lime, with exception of the head. It remains, then, beyond doubt, that the subterranean vault contained the victims of one of the many secret martyrdoms of the butcherly Tribunal. The following is a most probable opinion, if it be not rather the history of a fact.

“The condemned were immersed in a bath of slaked lime, gradually filled up to their necks. The lime, by little and little, enclosed the sufferers, or walled them up all alive. The torment was extreme, but slow. As the lime rose higher and higher, the respiration of the victims became more and more painful, because more difficult. So that what with the suffocation of the smoke, and the anguish of a compressed breathing, they died in a manner most horrible and desperate. Some time after their death, the heads would naturally separate from the bodies, and roll away into the hollows left by the shrinking of the lime. Any other explanation of the fact that may be attempted will be found improbable and unnatural.

“You may make any use of these notes of mine that you please, since I can warrant their truth. I wish that writers speaking of this infamous Tribunal of the Inquisition would derive their information from pure history, unmingled with romance; for so many and so great are the historical atrocities of the Inquisition, that they would more than suffice to arouse the detestation of a thousand worlds. I know that the Popish impostor-priests go about saying that the Inquisition was never an ecclesiastical tribunal, but a laic. But you will have shown the contrary in your work; and you may also add, in order to quite unmask those lying preachers, that the palace of the Inquisition at Rome is under the shadow of the palace of the Vatican; that the keepers of the Inquisition at Rome, are, to this day, Dominican friars; and that the Prefect of the Inquisition at Rome is the Pope in person.

“I have the honour to be,

“Your affectionate Servant,

“ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI.”

One thing appears most clearly from this letter, which is that between the years 1825 and 1849 those deaths must have taken place within the palace of the

Inquisition, whose traces were discovered in the depth of that shaft near the chamber of the Father-Commissary, and imbedded in lime in the subterranean cells. Comparing this account with that of Don Pascual Marin and other witnesses in Valencia, it is certain that the Inquisition has put its victims to death up to a very recent time, and that those judicial murders only ceased when it became impossible to commit them.

The Roman Parliament which sat during the brief reign of the triumvirs, after the flight of Pope Pius IX. to Naples, decreed the erection of a pillar opposite the palace of the Inquisition, to perpetuate the memory of the destruction of that "nest of abominations;" but before that or any other monument could be raised, the French army besieged and took the city, and restored the Pope; then with him came again the Holy Office, with its Congregation of Cardinals, and Congregation of the Index. Both these Congregations resumed their accustomed action. As for the former, it made at least one noted prisoner, Giacinto Achilli, who was thrown into one of the old prisons on the 29th of July, 1849; but the violence done to the building by the Romans having made it less secure as a place of custody, he was transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo, which had often been used for the incarceration of similar delinquents, and there he lay in close confinement until the 19th of January, 1850; when the Emperor of the French, yielding to many importunate appeals, gave such orders that the French General in Rome caused Achilli to be assisted to escape, disguised as a soldier. In doing this the Emperor removed an occasion of present scandal; but, not going so far as his more powerful uncle, he left the authority of the Congregation of Cardinals undisputed. Indeed, the Commissary of the Holy Office was first consulted, and induced to give consent to the abduction of the prisoner, before even that was attempted by the French guardians of the Papacy. The victim was let go. The outcry which had resounded all over

Europe was hushed without cost, and the injury went without compensation. Scarcely was Achilli safe in England when a great effort was made to cover him with infamy, an effort which could only be successful with simple-minded persons, too honest to conceive, and too ill-informed to have any knowledge of the false dealing of Inquisitors and Jesuits.*

The Roman Inquisitors had the boldness to send over a written paper under their own signatures, bearing the seal of St. Peter and St. Paul, with a description of certain discreditable antecedents which they said they had discovered in the course of professional examinations in the Holy Office, tending to prove that the habits of their prisoner had been licentious. In that respect it is quite conceivable that while a member of their church he might not have differed materially from his clerical brethren. That singular paper was presented for evidence in a British Court, but it did not avail to move the judicial authority to brand the fugitive, as the custom was in Rome.

* Attempts were now frequent to divert attention from the whole subject of Inquisitorial history. Some went so far as to deny that any Inquisition existed, while others endeavoured to represent it as a very useful institution for the correction of immorality and fanaticism. A curious "Notification of affected sanctity" appears on a broad sheet printed by the Roman Inquisition in 1857. It reads thus:—

"We Brother Giacinto de Ferrari, of the order of Preachers, Master in Holy Theology, Commissary of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, etc.

"Catherine Fanelli, a girl twenty-three years of age, born in Casalviere, in the Diocese of Sora, who has lived for many years in the County of Sezze, having with studious inventions endeavoured to be had in reputation as a Saint, boasting of revelations, prophecies, ecstasies, apparitions of Jesus Christ, and of Most Holy Mary, with other supernatural gifts and particular graces of God: and it being evident from the acts of proceedings taken on the things aforesaid, and from her own confession juridically taken in this Holy Office, after her confinement therein, that they were all deceptions, boastings, falsehoods, and fictions, every one of the said visions, apparitions, revelations, marks (*stimmati*), and other things reputed wonderful and particular graces of God,

"Therefore in execution of the Decree of the Holy Office of Wednesday, the 4th February, 1857, in order that the public may be undeceived, and to remove from everyone's mind any false

Nine years later Victor Emmanuel was made King of Italy, and the greatest part of the Papal States became part of the kingdom of United Italy; but so long as a Pope remained sovereign in the city of Rome, so long the Inquisition there was sure to continue in full power. This was made evident when the Council of the Vatican, summoned by Pius IX., was opened by him in December, 1869, and the Holy Office, although extinct elsewhere in the world, gave ample proof of its existence in the city.

A German correspondent of the "*Allgemeine Zeitung*" relates that Bishops and theologians were required to maintain the strictest secrecy about everything, and the preliminary labours, as was well known, had to be carried on under the seal of secrecy of the Holy Office. They were sworn by the Inquisitors, under pain of excommunication, to keep the secret, or to suffer the direst consequences of excommunication.* Nor in the way of repression only was the Inquisition employed in the service of that mock council. A Jesuit named Kleugen had been condemned by the Holy Office for scandalous conduct in a convent. The nuns were dispersed into other houses, and the Jesuit

belief concerning the sanctity of the said girl, We notify and declare that the holiness of the abovesaid Catherine Fanelli is affected and feigned, not without erroneous and immoral maxims, and the things aforesaid have been altogether false and counterfeit, wherefore the said girl has been condemned by the Holy Office to twelve years' imprisonment.

"Therefore let no man dare for the future to assert or hold the abovesaid Catherine Fanelli to be a saint for the things abovesaid, under penalty at the pleasure of the most eminent and most reverend Lords Cardinals, Inquisitors General.

"Given in the Chancery of the Holy Office in the Vatican on the Sixth day of February, 1857. F. Giacinto de Ferrari de' Pri. Commissario Generale del S. Officio.

"This was duly published Feb. 9, by the Cursitor, affixed to the gates of S. Peter's, Palace of Inquisition, at the corner of Campo di Flora, and other accustomed places."

* *Letters from Rome on the Council*, by QUIRINUS. Reprinted from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Preliminary History and Letter I.

priest was imprisoned for scandal—not heresy, which would have been unpardonable, but for scandal, which is venial—and having suffered durance for awhile, was rehabilitated by their Eminences in consideration of his merits as a theologian, and, under the same seal of secrecy, employed to prepare the *schemata*, or draft canons for the Council, in order to establish the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope on a firmer footing.*

This formidable Institution asserted its power with unsparing severity in the case of an Armenian Archbishop who presumed to have an opinion of his own in some dispute about a convent. This unfortunate prelate, with his secretary and interpreter, was condemned by the Inquisition to imprisonment; but, by way of disguise, was sent to one of the Jesuit Houses “to make the exercises,” that is to say, to go through a course of spiritual meditations, according to the famous system of Ignatius Loyola. To escape from imprisonment, if possible, they betook themselves to the protection of the French Embassy, but in accordance with instructions from Paris, whilst the former Emperor, Louis Napoleon, was yet in power, they were repulsed. Then they were sheltered, for the moment, by Rustem Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Florence, who was then resident in Rome, transacting business with Cardinal Antonelli. But the Cardinal intimated to the Turk that Catholic priests, *of whatever nation*, when at Rome, were simply subjects of the Pope, and under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. So the Archbishop was sent to his meditations, and no doubt they were as lugubrious as the Director could make them.†

No man whatever, unless he were a firm partizan of the Pope and the Jesuits, ever felt himself safe. There was a stringent regulation, requiring everyone to delate to the Inquisition whomsoever he might suspect of heresy. Nothing but the number and

* QUIRINUS, *ut supra*. Letter XXX. † *Idem*. Letter XXXVI.

influence of the opponents of the fatal dogma of infallibility saved them from the dungeons. Persons were imprisoned and punished on the slightest pretence.

But the final stroke was not very long delayed. On September 20th, 1870, that stroke which would level the whole fabric was laid on it. On that day the army of Italy entered Rome. The flags of all Italy now floated on the Capitol. The Pope shut himself up in the Vatican as if he were himself a prisoner. On October 2nd, 1870, he was deposed from the last vestige of a temporal sovereign by a plebiscite to that effect. The Papal tribunals were forthwith closed, and that of the Inquisition first of them all, amidst the general rejoicing of the people. The lives of the Inquisitors were spared, but their office is extinct.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WALLING UP.

RECENT information enables me to add a chapter, supplementary to chapters vi., on Laws and Customs, and xxiv., on Spanish America.

Enough has been said * concerning inquisitorial imprisonment in general, but one kind of imprisonment, called immuration, may be more fully described. One form of immuration in which the victim was walled up alive, instead of being burnt, remains to be noticed more particularly, and we have now material evidence that such a method of putting heretics to death was really employed.

A well-authenticated account is given by Limborch † from sufficient authorities. Such is the Council of Beziers, capp. 23, 24, 25, which ordained that care should be taken when persons were to be immured, according to an order of the Apostolic See, to provide separate and secret cells—*separatæ et occultæ camarulæ*—as might be done in every city of dioceses corrupted with heresy, that the prisoners might not be able to pervert one another, or other persons. Each cell built in pursuance to this and many other orders consisted of four walls only, in which one person was confined in absolute seclusion, with no other human being within hearing, to whom he might, by sound of voice, communicate the poison of his heresy. “No man,” said the Council of Sorbonne, “shall be excused from this imprisonment for the sake of his wife, nor any woman for the sake of her husband; no one for his children, or for his parents; no one on account of his own weakness or old

* In the preceding history, chap. vi., on Laws and Customs, Sec. 14, *Perpetual Prison*.

† *Hist. Inquis.*, lib. iv., Cap. xxxiv.

age, nor for any cause whatever without special indulgence of the Apostolic See (cap. xix). Some relaxation of this enormous rigour, as the Council of Beziers plainly calls it, might be obtained for money at Rome, where indulgence of any sort could be purchased by the rich, and the Supreme Inquisitors be proportionately gratified. There is no name that I can find for these cells except "the four walls," and this kind of immuration is called "the wall." In course of time it was not only made use of for the punishment of heretics, but was found convenient by other unrighteous judges for the torture of witnesses from whom they wanted to extort what they would call the truth.

If a so-called penitent was to be immured for life, life had to be for some time preserved; but without some scant supply of necessaries he would starve to death at once, and his tormentors might prefer to deal with him as do bandits with the man on whom they set a ransom price. Reference to Eymeric and Pegna brings abundant information of bolts, chains, fetters, and darkness within the four blind walls, without door or window, and also of idiocy and of raving madness in some cases; even where care was taken to enlarge the cell, and so to supply nourishment, that mere animal existence might be preserved—*ut eos enormis rigor carcerum non extinguat*,—and excessive severity in the prisons might not kill them outright. One example of this kind of immuration was published some years ago by the Rev. Richard Gibbing, when relating the case of another sufferer.*

"In the month of September, 1628, Francesco de' Soldati, a native of Bologna, and a Minorite friar, was discovered to have some prohibited writings in his sleeve, and after having been tortured, he was condemned by the congregation of the Inquisition to be imprisoned for five years. Nine months of the prescribed period having elapsed, he was removed to the

* Case of a Minorite friar, who was sentenced by S. Charles Borromeo to be walled up, and who, having escaped, was burnt in effigy. Dublin, 1853. Page 17, *Note*.

Convent of St. Francis at Gaeta, where he was walled up," that is to say, immured within four walls. But this immuration did not take place until nearly four years after his committal to the convent, as appears from what follows:—"In July, 1632, the Bishop of Molfetta forwards to the cardinals"—of the congregations at Rome—"a representation made by the consultor Friar Dominic, of Naples; and they were induced to decide that the duration of the punishment should be diminished. Accordingly, on the 12th of the ensuing August, by an injunction signed by Friar Aloysius à Cruce, and stamped with the large monastic seal of the Province of Terra di Lavoro, he was commanded to return to his superior. He regarded not this mandate, however, for he had lost his reason, and proclaimed himself to be Sixtus VI., the legitimate Pontiff above all Councils, the Reformer of Breviaries, Missals, and Chalices, the adopted son of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His perpetual Vicar in heaven and on earth. An order was given on the 16th January, 1633, by Andrea Perbenedetti, Bishop of Venosa, *in carceribus secretis deponi*, to cast him into secret prisons, and after the expiration of a fortnight the gaoler was astonished at finding that his prisoner had power to move freely, having contrived to set himself at liberty from the iron fetters in which he had been shackled. On the 3rd of March, 1633, Pope Urban VIII. issued instructions to the Bishop of Venosa before named, that he should send the criminal safely and in bonds to Rome; and soon afterwards De' Soldati, well guarded, was conveyed to the prisons of the Holy Office." What became of him there may be readily inferred by the account of the vaults of Pius V. given by Gavazzi in his letter to myself.*

Turning now to the order of Borromeo for the punishment of the Friar Tomaso Fabiano di Mileto,† we find a distinct account of the structure into which De' Soldati would be thrown while passing through successive stages of imprisonment.

* Vol. ii., 321—323, *supra*.

† Pages 9—16 of Mr. Gibbing's pamphlet.

“Murato in un loco circondato da cuatro mura, che da noi ti sarà assignato ; nel qual luogo, con dolor di core, et abundantia di lacrime, piangerai i tuoi peccati et offese fatte alla maestà di Dio, alla sta. Madre Chiesa, et alla religione del Padre San Francesco.” *Walled up in a place surrounded with four walls, which we shall assign to thee, where with grief of heart and abundance of tears thou shalt bewail thy sins and offences against the majesty of God, against holy Mother Church, and against the religion of our Father St. Francis, which thou hast committed.* Here must arise the question how either of these men could live to bewail his sins within four walls built up round him, shutting out light, air, and food. Mr. Gibbing, anticipating the question, says that in the secret papers of the Inquisition he finds a provision that when a person is built up within four walls, “per un buco, con un portello que si serra à chiave, si li dà da mangiare,”—*through a hole, having a little door fastened with a key, food shall be given to him.*

But there were yet other methods for smothering heresy. I have read somewhere, but cannot now recall the place, that when it was no longer possible to burn human beings in public with impunity, death was brought about in secret prisons by slow starvation. The quantity of food was diminished little by little ; the person condemned to die sank by imperceptible degrees until, stupefied with inanition, he breathed his last.

Or a niche having been hollowed in the wall of some vault, the living person, straitly bound, was placed upright in it, and a brick wall being run up in front, he was built in, and when he could breathe no more, he died. In such a country as England this appears too atrocious for belief. It sounds like a deed only possible in a population of Indian thugs ; and there are even members of the Church of Rome who honestly believe that such an atrocity could never be perpetrated in a country called Christian. Others there are who, even knowing the contrary, flatly deny that this kind of walling up ever took place at all. So lately as the year 1873 confirma-

tory evidence was produced in Mexico, but at that very time a solemn denial was attempted in London. An apologist of Monastic Institutions related the story of a picture which he had seen exhibited in the Royal Academy.* The scene, he said, was in a convent—a large vaulted apartment. There, in a niche in the wall, stood a beautiful girl, with a profusion of rich auburn hair streaming down her shoulders, her arms meekly crossed on her breast, her tearful blue eyes turned towards heaven, &c., &c. Of course the writer of *Terra Incognita* knew that this was no true picture of a nun, which the artist could not be expected to be aware of. But he proceeds to say: “A monk was hard at work with trowel and brick and mortar, closing up the front of the niche in which she stood.” Then he confidently proceeds to treat the artist’s conception as a ridiculous fiction, “an error and a delusion.” He scouts the notion that such immuration takes place in convents; yet there is no evidence to convince us that they do not, and perhaps prudently avoiding all textual reference, he makes no mention of Inquisitions. As for convents, this is not the place to speak of them, and our present concern is with a discovery made in a transatlantic Inquisition, demonstrating the practice in the very year when *Terra Incognita* was published in London with a denial that such practices existed.

The history of Spanish America is open to the world, and every one knows how treacherously Hernan Cortés entered the city of Mexico, made captive King Motezuma in his palace, took the royal city, and added the kingdom to the Spanish dominions. The historians tell us of the magnificent palace, soon to be occupied by Jesuits and Inquisitors. De Solis, in a few graphic sentences, describes its vast buildings and extensive gardens, surrounded by lofty walls, entered from the city by thirty gates, which opened into as many streets. We know how priests took the place of princes, and

* *Terra Incognita: the Convents of the United Kingdom.* By John Nicholas Murphy. Longmans, 1873. Page 1.

how the magnificence of the court of Mexico, rivalling those of Hindostan and China, was succeeded by an ecclesiastical sovereignty that assumed supreme control over an entire nation of Pagans, with all their gods, upon whose altars images of Christian saints were placed. A new religion, altered from Christianity and debased, having its name, but divested of its charity, was imposed upon the people; and so-called Christian ministers enforced their pleasure under such terrific sanctions, and with such dread as the heathens had not known before. During three centuries, from the Spanish invasion to the year of revolution, when the bishops were driven out of the country, the Inquisitors had held sway, exercising their dark discipline of terror without restraint. In the recesses of that palace they laid their human victims upon racks, and plunged them unseen and unheard into the silence of death. The enslaved population of the city offered no resistance to the Jesuitism that was everywhere dominant. The native Mexicans, in their simplicity, at first saluted the Spaniards as gods; the Spaniards did not refuse the honour, and their successors claimed the worship as their due. But the echoes of revolutionary tumult in Europe resounded in Spanish America. The Jesuit establishments were all wrecked. The Inquisition was abolished, and like the house upon the sand, the fall of it was great indeed.

After the downfall of the Inquisition and flight of the Inquisitors, the confiscation of Church property, and the struggles of civil liberty, the vast palatial inclosure became the property of the State. The lofty gates and the inclosing walls are all demolished. Public ways now intersect the grounds, and divide it into blocks or allotments, which were sold to any that would buy, except that a lingering superstition might have hindered the public servants from selling any to a Protestant. This was at least surmised; but the Jews had a kind of commercial standing, and one of them bought a part of the old palace, which he sold again to the Rev. Dr. William Butler, a Missionary of the

Methodist Episcopal Church. Having obtained possession, Dr. Butler proceeded to examine the property, and found himself master of the former abode of the Inquisitor-General of Mexico, in part of the palace where Cortés held his first memorable interview with Motezuma; and the doctor must have been conscious of a mission to bear some part in the retribution which has fallen on the Papacy in the western continent.

In the basement of the old building was a long gallery, inside the main wall of the edifice, which is very massive. Beneath the pavement were discovered the remains of about two hundred human bodies. The skeletons lay along the gallery side by side, and for economising space, shoulder to foot, and foot to shoulder, alternately. A message to the civic authority brought carts, which removed the bones, and the pavement was relaid. Dr. Butler, who caused this to be done, does not know what kind of burial-place this may have been. Perhaps it is only an example of many such in monastic and inquisitorial establishments, where births, deaths, and burials are private matters, known only to the inmates. The persons there buried out of sight may all have died natural deaths, but it does not seem that they had Christian burial; and there was no written record or monumental inscription to tell. Perhaps they were unbaptized Mexicans once used as slaves.

While the exhumation of the two hundred skeletons was going on, another discovery was made. What seemed to be the interior face of the main wall, not interrupted by door or window, was for some distance smooth, with a brick facing, but in some places along the smooth part the bricks had been broken away from the floor upwards, disclosing spaces resembling very narrow closets, empty, as if rifled of their contents. These breakages excited suspicion that the remaining unbroken surface might cover similar recesses. Dr. Butler, therefore, had that part of the wall sounded with hammers; in four places found it hollow, and had the bricks carefully removed. To the horror,

surely, of the explorers, four human bodies met their view. One man, sitting on a stone; two men standing; one woman, laid on her back, with a bundle at her feet said to contain an infant. They were all carefully removed to the public museum of the city of Mexico, where they may now be seen just as they were when put into an open wooden case, varnished in hope of preserving them entire, and covered with glass. Dr. Butler had them immediately photographed, and with a verbal description of the discovery, kindly gave me a copy of the picture in photograph, which is herewith repeated as closely as possible, in a wood-cut.

The structure of the cells for the entombment of living bodies is very simple. Niches may be left in the masonry when a wall is built with the intention of such a use, or, as in the Inquisition of Mexico, new work may be added on the inner side of an old wall, to be closed up afterwards. In a ground plan it might be shown thus :



The line *A B* may represent the face of the main wall of the palace of Motezuma, which is said to be nine feet thick, but that nine-foot thickness may include the line of piers marked *t*, built by the Inquisitors. The intervals between them were for *camarulae*, or cells. The letters *a b* mark the brick facing to cover the whole frontage on one side of the gallery, each cellule to receive one person. A part of the main wall *A B*, a part of the brick facing *a b*, and two of the piers *t t*, make the four walls of each little cell, *c*. Every wall of the cells was close, not admitting air or light. There was no hole anywhere for the admission of food, because



BODIES TAKEN FROM "THE WALL" IN PUEBLA, MEXICO.

See p. 328h.

none was wanted there any more than it would be wanted in a sarcophagus or a grave. In some oriental catacombs the *cellulæ* and entrances to the sepulchral chambers were built over in like manner, and the bricks or slabs that covered them were removed when a corpse was to be deposited. So in the Mexican Inquisition-house, when a sepulchral niche was wanted for a death intended, a few bricks would be removed from the facing; by the time the last was replaced the lungs of the living victim would be nearly smothered after the lingering agony of a gradual suffocation.

It is remarkable that the victims found by Dr. Butler were dressed all alike, and bound in the same manner. It was a regulation-dress, no doubt, kept in store for inmates of the ordinary prison-cells, when condemned to be walled up, at which time each one was to be clad in the same sad livery, bound close and fettered just the same. The niches which held three of the four were vertical, and must have resembled narrow chimney-flues, barely sufficient for a living person to stand upright, and not wide enough to allow the body to fall prone when life became extinct. Although he might bend a little, the body was held up by the sides of the tomb, and stiffened after death in the same posture that it had in the last agony. The recumbent figure is that of a body which must have lain in a longitudinal cavity, probably prepared for the reception of a woman; for there was some difference in the treatment of men and women, as we learn from certain passages in the Spanish Cartilla, which give instructions for torture. That document is preserved as an appendix in the first of these volumes. The following observations are suggested on examining the picture.

The victims, whether they were martyrs of the faith of Christ, or political offenders, or refractory servants, it is impossible to say, and useless to conjecture; but we may certainly affirm that they suffered under the forms of the Holy Office. They had been stripped of their ordinary garments, and bound fast.

The heads of three of them, if not all four, had been shaven, or the hair cropped close ; and we know that this was the first thing done before laying a heretic on the rack.* The legs were made fast in fetters, which we see confined the ankles. The arms are bent, and the elbows are brought close to the sides, and seem to have been confined there. A stout cloak, or cape, was wrapped round each of the living persons, so that there could not be the least movement of the upper limbs, and the strongest of the men, however desperate, could not tear himself away from one of the irons. So long as life and consciousness remained the anguish must have been horrible. The human victims were in the very grasp of death, and the Inquisitors were safe, until the Hand of Omnipotence should overtake them. They could leisurably carry up the masonry in front of the powerless captives, to whom resistance was impossible, and the horror of the situation deadly. If indeed, they were martyrs of Christ, laying down their lives for Him who died for them, the pains of dying might be swallowed up in the triumph of their martyrdom. But there is nothing to indicate who or what they were. They did not wear *sambenito* nor *coroza*, nor had they any of those marks which were carried by the condemned in the procession of an *auto da fè* to show who were penitent, who relapsed, and so forth. The woman whom we see recumbent, with the remains of an infant at her feet—if she had not been put away out of sight among the dead—might have had some shameful tale to tell ; and it is a wonder that the frame of the little innocent was not consumed in a furnace, for so it seems such objects were consumed at Rome. Why the seated figure had the indulgence of a stone to sit upon is also unexplained. The discoverers thought that it was the corpse of an old man, who was seated in the niche because he could not stand. It may have been so, but the circumstance is unimportant.

* See the Cartilla, after *Audience of Torment*.

Not so the state of the bodies. The flesh was not all decayed. The integuments were dried and wasted. I have heard a Mexican call them mummies, and it may suit priests to put that name upon them. But mummies are not found in such a state, the flesh and skin leaving parts of the skeleton quite bare. Neither were mummies ever bound in iron fetters, nor were heretics embalmed by the hands of Inquisitors. Popes may be embalmed and requiem masses sung for them ; but who ever found a badly embalmed dignitary built up within four walls ?

The state of these bodies in the year 1873, however it may be accounted for, shows that walling up alive is not only, if at all, one of the practices of the Inquisition in past ages, but that it has been carried on far within the present century. These persons must have been walled up some short time before the expulsion of the Inquisitors from Mexico. The immuration must have taken place in that later period when even enslaved American Spaniards would not have borne the sight of a fellow citizen burning in the open city. At that time it was needful to veil deaths by the Inquisition, as nearly as possible, in impenetrable secrecy. But the secret chamber is at last broken open, and the murderers themselves, unless they still survive, are gone to receive sentence from the righteous Judge.

Here we look upon the ghastly fruits of a defunct abomination, and we can truly say that the Inquisition is extinct, because it is no longer possible to erect a tribunal, nor to construct anywhere its hateful apparatus. But the spirit of the Inquisition lingers in the Vatican, where its forms probably continue to be cherished, and would-be officials are probably at this day appointed. A correspondent of *The Times* wrote from Rome, under date of 11th September, 1875 : "One Dr. Smith, formerly President of the new American College, has been recently made a Consultor of the Holy Office." The congregation, therefore, must sit, if it sits at all, in the chambers of the Vatican, for

their former palace is otherwise employed, and Inquisitors could have no place to sit in the Rome that now is. Nevertheless, the real Inquisition is extinct. There is no longer a secular arm to kill for it, and its temporal power is dead and gone.

W. H. R.

CROYDON, 1880.

APPENDIX.

IV.

INQUISITORIAL IGNORANCE.

(Vol. I. Page 286).

Don Antonio de Sotomayor, Archbishop of Damascus, and Inquisitor-General of Spain, wrote a sort of Pastoral Letter "to all persons of what state, condition, and quality soever within the Spanish dominions," in the year 1640. The letter was often reproduced under the highest sanction that could be had, and may be found in the last Index of Books Prohibited, or to be expurgated, published in Madrid, in the year 1790, issued again in 1805, required to be used by all booksellers in Spain so late as 1835, and bought from one of them by the Author, in that year or the next. It contains the following passage:—

"What is most wonderful and most hurtful is, that their malice"—the malice of us heretics—"has risen to such a height of pride, that they have not spared the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Some begin their course of impiety with mistranslations of the Divine Scriptures. They say that these Scriptures have been badly translated, adulterated in many places, mutilated, added to, altogether badly arranged. They say, that in order to understand the Sacred books, good versions are necessary. Pelican, Zuingle, Luther, Munster, Erasmus, Castalius and others, sacrilegiously blasphemous, have manufactured versions. They have translated the Greek and Hebrew Bible into various tongues, just as their whim led them, or as their dogmas lacked support. They have added scholia, glosses, arguments most pestilential. They have diminished the number of books of both Testaments. Luther and Zuingle rejected the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Baruch, and Macchabees, affirming that they are apocryphal, and of uncertain authority. Of the New Testament, they deny the Epistle to the Hebrews, those of St. James and St. Jude, the Second of St. Peter, and the Second and Third of St. John. Calvin blots out the history of the woman taken in adultery from the Gospel of St. John.

Musculus takes away the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark. Erasmus excludes all the Book of Revelation from the New Testament, saying that it is not written by St. John the Evangelist. From the first Epistle of this Saint he endeavours to erase the celebrated testimony to the unity of the Most Holy Trinity. The Anabaptists publish that the whole mass of Sacred Scripture is corrupt, principally in the Gospels and Epistles. Perhaps they would increase the number of the Sacred Books, as will be seen by the following, which they have brought to light:—The Protevangelium of James; the Gospel of the Nazarenes; the Gospel of Nicodemus; the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, and others, with the Scholia of the heretics themselves, all of them widely differing from our Vulgate edition.”

Whoever was the author of this accusation, it is artfully drawn up. Together with the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, there was a birth of Biblical science, and while that science was in its infancy, the history of the Sacred Canon was as yet unformed, and the fragmentary information contained in the writings of early Fathers not collated critically, nor indeed fully collected; literal facts now familiar to the youngest student were not generally known, and even where known, could not be clearly understood. But in the time of Sotomayor this obscurity had passed away, except, perhaps, in the realms of darkness yet unbroken, where no real study of the sacred text was permitted. So compact and cautiously worded an accusation as that which is now before us must therefore have been written by some one who possessed abundant information, but whose object was to conceal the truth, and thus to cover the *suggestio falsi* under the *suppressio veri*. Our Canon is, and always has been, the same as that of St. Jerome, as it continues to be published by the Church of Rome, in the *Prologus Galeatus* of that Father, prefixed to the authorised editions of the Latin Vulgate, but practically set aside by the Council of Trent, less than a century before Sotomayor. This note of mine may be satisfactory to the general reader, but I must apologise to the Biblical student for having said so much as even these few lines, on so plain and elementary a matter.

V.

EDICT OF PIUS VI. CONCERNING THE JEWS.

(Vol. II. Page 281.)

After the customary allusion to a Pope's anxieties at the commencement of his pontificate, and his intention to maintain the Catholic religion untainted among the faithful, the Edict states his determination to remove far away the peril of perversion which might arise from too great familiarity with the Hebrews, an object which will be accomplished by enforcing an exact observance of the precautions taken by his glorious predecessors, especially Clement XII., in an Edict dated Feb. 2, 1733, and Benedict XIV., in an Edict published Sept. 17, 1751. The Most Eminent Cardinals Inquisitors-General having been heard on this matter, he has commanded the new publication of the last Edict, with some additions, in order that it may be punctually executed in every part of his pontifical State. Omitting technical forms and references, I give the substance of each Article.

1. His Holiness, adhering to the Second Constitution of Innocent IV., *Impia Judæorum*, ordains and commands that the Hebrews must not by any means retain in their possession, nor read, buy, write, copy, translate, sell, give, exchange, nor in any other way alienate, under any pretext, title, or colour, any book or impious manuscript, whether Talmudical or other, that is condemned for being superstitious or cabalistic, or that contains errors against Sacred Scripture, or the Old Testament, or anything injurious, impious, or blasphemous, against the sacred and holy mysteries of the Christian Faith, especially the most Holy Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, Mary ever Virgin, or the Saints, or any other book of those prohibited by Julius III., on May 29, 1554, and by Clement VIII., on Feb. 28, 1593, or in any other Apostolic Constitution or Decree, under penalty of losing the books, with confiscation of goods, and other corporal penalties that will be most grave, in case of any contravention of the tenor of the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, published Sept. 12, 1553. Those Rabbis, also, and abettors of the Hebrews, who retain the said books in their libraries, or in any other place, for public or private use, shall be liable to suffer the same penalties.

2. That no Hebrew may dare to expound, explain, or teach the errors of the books aforesaid, whether in public or in private, whether in or out of school, to any person whatever,

Christian, Jew, or teach anything else, under the same penalties of loss of books, confiscation of goods, and other corporal and grave penalties at discretion.

3. That no Christian printer, bookseller, or merchant, nor any other person of whatsoever state or condition, may lend aid or counsel to the Hebrews, to enable them to have the said books, nor yet to write, print, copy or translate them, nor must anyone ask permission to read nor to have them, not only under the penalties already stated, but also under pain of excommunication reserved to the Supreme Pontiff for remission, and to be incurred without any other declaration than is now given.

4. That the Hebrews may not buy nor receive any book in the Hebrew language, nor translated from Hebrew into any other language, either by Christian or Jew, or by any other sent or carried, unless permission for it be first sought—if in the city of Rome, to the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace; or, if in other places or cities of the State, to the Bishops or local Inquisitors, that they may know whether they should be allowed to receive it, and all that under penalty of a hundred scudi, and seven years of prison, in case of contravention. Any book that is found to contain anything contrary to the Bulls and Apostolic Decrees, shall not be restored to the Hebrews, but transmitted to the tribunal of the Holy Office, as also any other book found prohibited to the Hebrews.

5. That the Hebrews may not take books out of the Custom Houses, nor send books in, without licence of the Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome, or of the Bishop, or local Inquisitor elsewhere in the State, under penalty of loss of books, or fine of ■ hundred scudi, and seven years' imprisonment. Christian servants of the Custom-houses who shall co-operate for the extraction or introduction of such books, or any other persons aiding them therein, shall suffer the like penalties.

6. Obligation is laid on the Master of the Sacred Palace, and on all the Bishops and Inquisitors aforesaid, to give all attention and diligence that no book be extracted or introduced relating to the Hebrews without their express licence. They must visit the Custom-houses and vessels that discharge books in the seaports.

7. All Christians, and chiefly servants at the Custom-house, couriers, postmen, carriers and conductors of every kind, by land or water, are forbidden to convey any book by land or water to the Hebrews, without previous licence of the Master of the Palace, or Bishop, or local Inquisitor, to whom they must give notice, as soon as they arrive, of every book, on peril

of excommunication, as above, incurred *ipso facto*, and other pecuniary and corporal penalties, at discretion. Everyone to whom any of the books aforesaid are addressed, who does not give information thereof, is subject to the same.

8. According to the Bull of Clement VII., quoted in the first clause of this Edict, every person of whatever degree, state or condition, as therein related, is forbidden to grant any indulgence, license or faculty contrary to the conditions of the said Bull, and in case that such has been granted, it is declared null and void.

9. The Hebrews must neither do, nor compose, nor teach any witchcrafts, incantations, fortune-tellings, drawing of lots, charms, or other acts that imply superstition, for finding out things hidden, or things future, whether for Christians or for Hebrews, under penalty of a hundred scudi, flogging, or the galleys for life, according to the circumstances of the crimes. The same penalties are also incurred by Christians who shall learn from Hebrews the superstitious acts, or have recourse to them for foolishly searching out things hidden or future.

10. Every Christian silversmith is forbidden to make for the Hebrews any Amulet or *Brevetti*,* which they are accustomed to put on their children, to preserve them from trouble by witches, or other bad people, and especially those that have the shape of an almond, or of a knob of wood, and on which there are impressed Solomon's knot on one part, and the candle with seven lights on the other,† or other like vain hieroglyphics, for, as these are superstitiously interpreted by the Hebrews, it is not right that Christian artificers should have anything to do with them, and this is forbidden under penalty of twenty-five scudi to the silversmith.

11. According to the Decrees of Oct. 8, and 23, 1625, the Hebrews may not place, nor cause to be placed, over their graves any stone or inscription, and therefore it is intended to prohibit, for the future, anyone from granting license for placing such stones or inscriptions under pain of demolition of the sepulchres, fine of a hundred scudi, and other penalties at discretion.

12. In carrying corpses to burial, the Hebrews must not use any rite, ceremony, or funereal pomp, and especially they must

* Are these written charms?

† This must be meant for a description of the Phylacteries, the one like an almond being the phylactery for the arm, the other like a knob of wood the phylactery for the head, with the two *Shin*, having together seven strokes, and the *Daleth* knot answering to Solomon's knot. For an exact description of Phylacteries, see my article in *The Sunday at Home* for 1870, pp. 794—797.

abstain from singing psalms, and carrying torches, and burning lights through the street, under penalty of a hundred scudi, loss of the wax, and corporal punishment, at discretion, to which the abettors and nearest relatives of the deceased shall be subject. But they shall only be permitted to have lights and use their accustomed rites and funeral pomp in the Synagogue, and at the place of burial, provided that in any of the aforesaid places no Christian of any sex or condition be present, under the penalties aforesaid, to be incurred as well by those who aid as by those who permit the access of Christians, and by the Christians who attend.

13. In pursuance of what is laid down in the Civil and Canon Laws, and Papal Constitutions, there cannot be an increase of Synagogues allowed inside the *Ghetti*, which may not be adorned or enlarged in any way whatever, much less can there be any others outside the *Ghetti*, under penalty of a hundred scudi, prison, and other punishments most grave, etc.

14. No Hebrew of any sex, state, or condition may go to the houses of the Catechumens, nor approach them within the distance of thirty *canne*, nor to the Monastery of the *Sanctissima Annunciata*, in Rome, nor send another in his stead, under the penalty of three hundred scudi, the galleys, and other corporal punishments at discretion.

15. No Hebrew, under any pretext, may retain in his house, dwelling, or shop, any neophyte or catechumen, whether male or female, although such catchumen be in the first degree of consanguinity his relative; much less may he eat, drink, or sleep with any one of them, neither within the *Ghetti*, nor outside, nor in any other place, nor work with any of them, nor be there in order to serve, nor visit there, nor have any conversation there on any occasion, under the penalty of fifty scudi, and of three *tratti di corda** in public.

16. In case that the Hebrews, whether by word or promise, or in any other way, directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, induce, or attempt to induce Neophytes, Catechumens, or any other persons to Judaize, they at once incur the penalties of prison, confiscation of goods, and other penalties imposed by the Apostolic Constitutions of Clement IV., Gregory X., Nicholas IV., and Gregory XI.

17. If any Hebrew of either sex dares to dissuade or hinder in any way the conversion to the Holy See of any Hebrew, or

* *Tratto di corda* is a sort of punishment given to criminals, by letting run without stopping for an instant that which is attached to the cord by which the person is tied. *Grande Dizionario dell' Abate Francesco de Alberti di Villanova.* S. V. TRATTO.

Catechumen, or causes it to be deferred, even for the shortest time, he shall at once incur the penalty of galley, confiscation of all his goods, with other, etc., etc., with express declaration that they who render them aid, by any act, counsel, or labour, shall be subjected to the same punishment. Hebrew women, however, instead of the galley, shall incur the punishment of flogging and exile, and others more heavy at discretion, according to the circumstances of the offence.

18. The *fattori* or bondsmen of the Hebrews, more than any others shall be bound to the observance of these things, and they especially are to take care that no Hebrew Catechumen of either sex be conveyed away secretly, concealed, or perverted, who has shown, shows, or is about to show a will or inclination to become a Christian, and also that no Hebrew that ought to be taken to the house of Catechumens according to the pontifical decrees be assisted to escape, or concealed, not even under the pretence that parents and relatives do not agree to it, and when any such cases do occur, the *bondsmen* shall be bound to bring back the fugitive, or otherwise let them be mulcted with the *gravatoria continua* (continuous fine) until the restitution be effected, or the return of the person fugitive, or concealed, or perverted; and besides this, let them be subjected to the pecuniary penalty, to imprisonment, and other most grave punishments at discretion.

19. When any Hebrew is offered to the Church to be baptized, the Hebrews must not in any way molest or injure the person who presents, or the person who is presented, particularly while they are in the Ghetto, under most heavy pecuniary or corporal penalties at discretion, and let it be the care of the Monsignore Vicegerent in Rome, and out of Rome of the Bishops and local Inquisitors, immediately that they have notice, or even any probable conjecture, to endeavour with all earnestness that the person who presents for baptism, and the person presented do not remain any longer with the Hebrews.

20. In pursuance of Bulls of Paul IV., renewed by Pius V., in the Constitution *Romanus Pontifex*, given in Rome, May 20th, 1566, the Hebrews of both sexes ought to wear the sign of yellow colour, by which they may be distinguished from others, and should always have it on them, as well within the Ghetto as outside, as well in Rome and the inhabited places as outside. That is to say, men should wear the hat with the badge well sewn on both sides of the flap or peak, without any veil or scarf, except it be of the same colour; and women should wear it on the head, openly, without putting a

veil or any thing else over it by which it might be hidden, under the penalty both to man and woman of fifty *scudi* for each time, and to women at discretion. The Hebrews are therefore ordered not to wear any other hat than their own, with the yellow badge, but if they have hats for sale, they must carry them in their hand and not on their head. It is permitted, however, that Hebrews, whether men or women, may go without the badge aforesaid when they are actually on a journey, provided they do not remain more than one day in the same place, and if they do remain in it beyond one day, they must consider themselves obliged to wear it, or pay the penalty abovesaid.

21. By special order of the Pope it is made known that for the future no licence shall be attended to from any tribunal, nor from any person of whatever dignity, degree, office, or pre-eminence, even if he be the President of Avignon, Bishop, Majordomo of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, Cardinal Legate, or Chamberlain of the Holy Church, for anything that he may grant to the Hebrews, according to the provisions of the aforesaid Bull of Paul IV., under penalty to nullity of the said licence, and the Hebrews shall be subject to the same penalties as if no such licence had been obtained. If any subaltern minister dares again to grant licences verbally for not wearing the badge, he is to be punished at discretion, and be at once deprived of his charge or office, the executors of the punishment being forbidden to pay any regard to such licences under the penalties due to the transgressors themselves.

22. The Hebrews may not distribute, give, present, or sell to Christians meat of any sort that they may have killed or cause to be killed, under penalty of a hundred *scudi*, or prison at discretion. The Christians, on the other hand, may not receive, nor buy it of them, under penalty of twenty *scudi*, and prison at discretion.

23. In like manner the Hebrews may not distribute, give nor sell to the Christians unleavened bread, commonly called *Azzimelle*, under penalty of fifty *scudi*; and on the other hand, the Christians, under the same penalty, may not receive it from them.

24. It having become known that Hebrews, not content to buy milk for their own use from Christians, buy it in much greater quantity than they need, to sell and make profit, and trade with Christians, Hebrews are therefore forbidden, under the same penalty, to buy more milk than is sufficient for their own want, or to sell it or part with it in any way to Christians, although it be made into cheese, or any sort of milk-meat.

Christians are likewise forbidden to sell to Hebrews under the same penalty.

25. Hebrews must not by any means be permitted to receive by sale or contract, under any pretence or colour, by themselves or others, the *Agnus Dei*, or relics of saints, neither with ornament nor without, nor yet crosses, chalices, pictures, figures or images of our Lord Jesus Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, or of saints, nor books of offices, breviaries, missals, towels or altar furniture, or anything else relating to Divine worship, and not even profane books in which there are any sacred pictures, although the said things be broken or torn, or they wish to use them only for burning, or for picking out the gold or silver, under penalty of two hundred *scudi*, and galley. The Christians that shall sell any of the abovesaid things to the Hebrews incur the penalty of two hundred *scudi* only.

26. The Hebrews may not, by themselves or others, carry on any traffic, business, bank, or society with Neophytes or catechumens, under penalty of nullity of contract, and fifty *scudi*, three pulls of the cart-rope (*tratti di corda*) in public, and others at discretion.

27. According to the 6th Constitution of St. Pius V., and the Decree of Alexander VII., of 10th July, 1659, they must not have shops, stalls, magazines, or hand-carts out of the Ghetto, and only in case of pressing need or necessity may the local bishops grant them the requisite licences for places at small distances from the Ghetto, but not in public places, and with clauses that they may not pass the night there, nor have any meetings there with Christians nor with Hebrews themselves, but only attend to their trade, under penalty of fifty *scudi*, other corporal punishment at discretion, and perpetual deprivation of said magazine, etc., etc.

28. The Hebrews must not invite, much less introduce, Christians into their synagogues; and on the other hand it shall never be lawful for Christians to enter there, under penalty to each party of fifty *scudi*.

29. In pursuance of what is prescribed in the Body of Canon Law, *Cod. de Judæis*, and in the Decree of Benedict XIV., of Aug. 26, 1745, the Hebrews may not, either in their own name, in the name of a Christian, or any other person, hold or make any sales, hirings, or allotments, whether public or private, of property of any sort, to whomsoever it may belong, although it be the Reverend Apostolic Chamber, nor lend name, nor give security, nor have any the least participation, under penalty of loss of the same amount as shall be covenanted for in the hiring or the sale, to be incurred *ipso facto*, with

nullity of such contracts, and other penalties at discretion. And, therefore, it is ordained to Christians henceforth to abstain from contracting in such matters with the Hebrews, under the same penalty as that expressed above.

30. According to that which is ordained in the Body of Canon Law, and in the second Constitution of Innocent VI., and third of Paul IV., Hebrews may not make use of Christian midwives or wet-nurses, under penalty of a hundred scudi, and prison at discretion. Neither may Christian women use Hebrew midwives or wet-nurses, the Hebrew under penalty of fifty scudi for the first time, and the second time flogging also, to which penalties the husbands, both Hebrew and Christian, shall be bound for their consorts.

31. According to many laws (cited in the Edict) the Hebrews may not have Christian men-servants or women-servants, nor be served by one of them, even for the shortest moment of time, to cleanse the Ghetto, nor light the fire, nor wash the clothes, nor do any servile work, under penalty of twenty-five scudi, and corporal punishment at discretion; and it is therefore enjoined on Christian fathers of families, and tutors or guardians, to prohibit the child or children placed under their charge from lending such services to the Hebrews, otherwise proceedings will be taken against them to inflict the arbitrary penalties.

32. According to prohibitions in Bulls of Paul IV., Pius IV., and Clement VIII., the Hebrews may not play, eat or drink, or have any familiarity or conversations with Christians, nor Christians with them in palaces, houses, vineyards, streets, hotels, wine-houses, shops, or elsewhere; and hotel keepers, wine-house keepers, and shop-keepers must not permit conversations between Christians and Hebrews under penalty of ten scudi to Hebrews, and prison at discretion, and to Christians ten scudi and corporal punishment at discretion.

33. Hebrews must not dare to work in Ghetto on feast-days commanded by the Church (*Const. 3, Paul IV.*), except with closed doors, and in no way outside Ghetto, nor yet in houses of Christians in any state or condition, under penalty of fifty scudi, and three pulls of cart-rope at discretion, and the same penalty of fifty scudi is to be laid on Christians who, on such days, permit Hebrews to work in their houses. Confessors are charged to admonish penitents seriously, and reprove those who dare to suffer it, because of the grave scandal that it occasions.

34. Hebrews of either sex or any age may not go in carriage or chaise through Rome, nor out of the city, under penalty of a

hundred scudi, prison, and corporal punishment at discretion. On case of a journey, however, they may go on horseback, or in a chaise, but not otherwise.

35. No Hebrew or Christian must serve as coachman or driver to Hebrews, except on a journey, under penalty of fifty scudi, and three pulls of the cart-rope. Under the same penalty no Christian may lend or give a conveyance, or lend carriages or coaches to Hebrews of either sex, much less take them with them in carriage or chaise.

36. No Hebrew may lodge outside Ghetto, and therefore every one must retire into Ghetto before one o'clock at night, and not go out in the morning before day, under penalty of fifty scudi and three pulls of the cart-rope in public for the men, and for the women flogging. Therefore, it is the duty of gate-keepers not to let them go in or out of the Ghetto except at the proper times, and not to admit Christians when the Hebrews are shut in. And besides this, the whole body of Hebrews are commanded to pay the gate-keepers their entire allowance, without any abatement, and that they have nothing else to contribute to it for any title, reason, or cause. And the gatekeepers must take care not to receive any gift or acknowledgment from the community, nor from any Hebrew in particular, except the presents usually given at appointed times under penalty of fifty scudi, prison at discretion, and dismissal from their situation.

37. No Hebrew of either sex must dwell out of Ghetto, nor be in Towns, Lands, Villages, Estates, Pasture-lands, or elsewhere, under any pretence, as for change of air, and when they have to go out even for a single day, they must get the necessary licence, according to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation, 6th December, 1661. The licence must express the name, surname, and native place of the Hebrew, the lawful cause for which it is granted, the time allowed, and the clauses which order that the Hebrews wear the badge in the hat, that they do not cohabit with Christians, not converse familiarly with them; and on coming back, the Hebrew must return the licence to the tribunal that gave it, under penalty of three hundred scudi, and other arbitrary punishments for each transgression.

38. If Hebrews wish to go to fairs, they must also get a written licence from the local Bishop, Inquisitor, or Vicar, without payment, and must leave the place within three days after the holidays are over, unless they can get an extension of the licence from the same authorities. Their licence, however, will not serve them unless they present it to the local

Bishop, Inquisitor, or Vicar of the place, immediately, without the least delay, on their arrival, unless these authorities think that, for any just reason, it should not be attended to, or should be restricted, or their stay shortened. On return they must give it up again, under pain of losing their goods, prison, and corporal punishment at discretion.

39. Hebrews are not permitted to enter the parlours of nunneries, or conservatories,* nor speak to any persons who are in such places, nor to enter into churches, oratories, or hospitals, under penalty of fifty scudi, three pulls of the cart-rope in public for men, or flogging for women.

40. If Superiors of Houses, or Monasteries of Regulars, or Pious Places of Seculars, have occasion at any time to make use of Hebrews for the sake of the *stracciarie* (rags they buy?), they must not permit them to enter the churches or oratories, nor talk with any person, except it be with persons advanced in age, who can give them good example, and instruction how to behave themselves. Otherwise they must know that they will have to give a strict account unto the Lord, and to the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office.

41. Hebrews, even though they be Rabbis, must not dress like ecclesiastics; particularly, they must not wear a plain collar, *alla Francese*, such as is worn by French Ecclesiastics, but put on a perfectly secular dress, with a large and open collar, under penalty, if they transgress, of ten scudi for the first offence, twenty for the second, and in case of further contumacy, prison, and corporal punishment at discretion.

42. The above regulations apply to foreign Jews of both sexes, while in Rome, and in all the Ecclesiastical State; they must also dwell in the Ghetto all the time, under penalty of a hundred scudi, prison, and corporal punishment at discretion.

43. Preaching being the most powerful and effectual method for obtaining the conversion of the Hebrews, as collected from, etc., etc., we order the Rabbis to pay the utmost care and use their utmost diligence to cause to be present at the Sermon that is made on Saturdays, or any other day of the week, that number of men and women which, according to the different sizes of the Ghetto is, or shall be, appointed according to the

* *Conservatories*.—A conservatory is a house used for the seclusion of women, both unmarried and married, at pleasure of their parents, guardians, or husbands. Parents and others may wish,—or pretend to wish,—to keep the young women from corruption out of doors, and husbands may think it necessary to shut up wives during their own absence from home, in like manner, and for the same reason.

Constitution 92 of Gregory XIII., dated August 26, 1745, and circular letter of April 29, 1749 ; and if they neglect to make out the description of the persons, the number fixed, or to be fixed as above, they shall incur the penalty of fifty scudi for each time, and also for the failure of any of the persons described to attend on the Sermon-day, he incurs the fine of two giulj for each one.

44. Finally, His Holiness declares and commands that for the effectual execution of all the abovesaid ordinances, transgressors shall be proceeded against both *ex officio* and *per Inquisitionem* ; and that the present Edict, affixed in the accustomed places, and also in the schools of the Ghetti for their more effectual publication, (where it must always be fixed up under penalty of a hundred scudi in case of each contravention, and corporal punishment at discretion) binds all and each, as if it had been personally intimated to each one.

Given at the Palace of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition this fifth day of April, 1775.

GIOVANNI BUTTELLI DELLA S. ROMANA ED UNIVERSALE
INQUISIZIONE NOTARO.

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(*Technical words are printed in Italics.*)

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